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This book is designed as a text primarily for college students preparing to teach sex education or "education in the nature of human sexuality and the relations between the sexes" in elementary and secondary schools. An attempt is made by the 13 writers, most of them sociologists or psychologists, to distinguish between the knowledge which the teacher transmits to his students and the knowledge which he himself needs in order to do it. The first 5 chapters concentrate on some of the pedagogical peculiarities which characterize teaching in the area of sex. "Trends in Sex Education" reviews the movement to introduce it into the school curriculum and surveys the current scene. The "how" and "what" of sex education are dealt with in "One Approach to the Age Placement of Concepts and Materials." The students' own stages of lifelong human growth are the focus of "Normal Sociosexual Development." "Some Social and Psychological Aspects of Sex" distinguishes between the roles of teacher and counselor, and "Sex Education in the Community" discusses the role of agencies other than schools. Chapter 6 on masturbation and 7, 8, and 9 on premarital sex standards and interpersonal relationships attempt to provide both information and guidance. Broader sociological aspects are covered in the last 3 chapters--"Sex in the Culture of Poverty," "Changing Concepts of Masculinity and Feminity," and the "Impact of Culture and Values." Lists of references and suggested readings follow most of the chapters. The book will be published in May 1969 by John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md. 21218, in paperback and hard cover. (JS)

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The Individual, Society and Sex:
Background Readings for Sex Educators

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Carlfred B. Broderick
and
Jessie Bernard
Editors

March 1968

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FOREWORD

HEALTHY SEXUALITY, AN EMERGING CONCEPT

SIECUS (Sex Information and Education Council of the U. S.) was formed as a voluntary health organization in May of 1964, and the public first heard of it in January, 1965. It has operated (and will continue to do so), on a modest scale, to fulfill its functions as an informational and educational resource, with a staff that has grown from one professional and one clerical worker to five professionals and twelve clerical workers.

SIECUS' greatest asset is its Board of Directors, a remarkable group of men and women from every category of disciplines, whose convictions, ranging widely between "right" and "left" do not interfere with achieving consensus. Rotating three year terms bring each year to the Board new minds and personalities, and the interaction at Board Meetings is an exhilarating study in clash and accommodation. Mutual respect and mutual desire combine to move SIECUS forward.

In what direction? In the direction of generating, in the general and professional public, the kinds of waves of thought and action that may best serve to validate the Purpose so clearly stated and restated by SIECUS. This Purpose bears periodic rereading, for each sentence carries several meanings that are subtle and far-reaching.

In fact, this present book is an attempt, a beginning, at identifying some of the many new meanings that SIECUS is even now still only dimly sensing, of the term "sexuality." From the beginning SIECUS was determined to emphasize that, because the word "sex" had become so rigidly identified with the genital act, new terminology was needed. Dictionary definitions of the term "sexuality" were incomplete, unsatisfactory, but continued use of it by SIECUS as now reflected back by the communications media has begun to add new dimensions to it.

Does sexuality exist as an abstraction? Probably not. Like the air waves produced by a tree falling on a desert island that cannot be called sound unless some auditory apparatus is present to register them, sexuality exists only in relation to an individual. So at this stage, perhaps the best, the only definition we can give for sexuality is, "You at whatever age you are as boy or girl, man or woman--with all of your thoughts, feelings and actions as boy or girl, man or woman."

And what is healthy sexuality? And how do you achieve it, in yourself, or in others for whom you have responsibility? This is what SIECUS now calls upon educators to join in exploring. This book is a first step in such an exploration, one which is not likely for some time, if ever, to yield neatly packaged answers that will satisfy everyone and be universally applicable. But members of the SIECUS Board can and do now testify to one thing: the person who embarks on this exploration on behalf of the young people for whom all education is designed, will slowly but surely find expansion of his own understanding and acceptance of the multiplicity of patterns in human sexuality. He will also quite surely find new dimensions being added to his own life--for, as a young man at a boys prep school and a Roman Catholic Chaplain at a large university both phrased it quite independently of each other, "Society is struggling to learn how to be human and sexual."

New York,
June, 1967

Mary S. Calderone, M.D.
Executive Director, SIECUS

NEW PERSPECTIVES IN SEX EDUCATION*

by

Philip R. Lee, M.D.
Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Those of us who are intimately concerned with the problems of sex education--with the development of a healthy, serene and intelligent attitude toward sex--are likely to see discouragements on every side.

We cannot avoid running into the brick walls of tradition, taboos, prejudices and downright misinformation.

But let us treat ourselves to a brief look back--and it wasn't so very long ago--to the time when the new baby was brought by the stork, when a pregnant woman was "in the family way," and when a child's natural and healthy curiosity about his own body was naughty or sinful.

This can give us only confidence that the strides we have already made--and they are by no means negligible--will be equalled and more than equalled by the strides we are going to make in the future.

We are in a new climate, one in which we view sex as a part of the total health of the individual and the community.

Total health, by my definition, represents the achievement of an individual's highest potential in every aspect of his life: physical, intellectual, sexual, social, emotional, economic--both in relation to himself and in relation to others.

The totally healthy man or woman, as Dr. Calderone has said, carries maleness or femaleness as a joy rather than a burden, and as an enhancement of all of his or her relationships. This individual does not allow his sense of self to be marred by sexual guilt, shame--or pride.

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*Presented before Sex Information and Education Council of the U. S. (SIECUS), Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., November 30, 1966.

This is the ideal; this is what we are after.

The Federal Government is staking considerable sums of money, and countless hours of hard work by many talented people, on the proposition that this is not only an important goal, but one which can be attained.

We are most grateful for the interest of dedicated people like yourselves. You are pioneers in providing leadership in the fields of sex education and guidance, and we need as much of this kind of leadership as we can get our hands on.

Your leadership is vital in many fields:

1. The assessment of available knowledge about human sexuality and the gaps that exist in research;

2. The training of health, welfare and education personnel;

3. The development and dissemination of information;

4. The creation of a climate of understanding in an area so sorely beset by the damaging elements of silence and confusion.

We propose a pool of all these resources. We propose a partnership that will include the States and local communities, private groups such as yours, and all who share the belief that we can strip the mystery and nonsense from sex and make it what it is: an important, natural, healthy--and delightful--part of life.

Scientific research has turned human society upside down, in one of the tremendous sociological upheavals of history.

We have splendid new vistas for a new order of life. We have revolutionary knowledge in countless fields, including genetics, reproduction, contraception, the functions of sex and the prolongation of human life.

Our new technology has revolutionized our community life. Our cities have grown huge. Our population is not only booming in numbers but moving about every which way in astonishing fashion. We work at jobs unheard of a century ago or even a decade ago.

And most basically, there has been a tremendous change in the traditional roles of men and women.

We must face the fact that new knowledge, new situations and a vast new set of demands on human individuals have brought about a volcanic upheaval in human needs and values.

This all means that we must seek new paths in the education and counseling of young people who, as adults, will soon join us in the struggle for emotional survival in the stormy seas of late 20th Century life.

All of the scientific evidence we have supports what we ourselves, as parents ourselves, have known for a long time: that many parents are not talented in the field of sex education for their own children.

The task just doesn't come naturally. Many, many a parent will confess that he becomes tongue-tied when he is called upon to field such questions as "Where did you and Mommy get me, Dad?" or even "Why does Mommy have to go to the hospital to get the baby?"

We are limited by our own anxieties, inhibitions and misinformation.

We know as parents, and we know as doctors, educators and sociologists, that parents need help in the guidance of their children toward positive, healthy sexuality. This help must come from the experts--people like yourselves--who know that sex is not odd or shameful but a touchstone that can make magic in our lives.

Recognizing all this is one thing; doing something about it is another.

I am happy to be able to report to you that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare--like yourselves--is not just talking, but doing.

We are developing an active program in sex education and related areas, and are already able to provide practical assistance at the grass-roots level. For example the Office of Education, in a recent policy statement, announced that it is prepared to lend a hand to communities and schools which wish to develop family life and sex education programs.

That Office will encourage and support these projects, for pre-school to college and adult levels, in localities which want them and ask for them.

It will encourage and support training for teachers and health personnel, and it will encourage and support research in all aspects of family life and sex education. There is a real need, of course, for specific instruction materials--and we are confident that more and more of this will come out of research in curriculum development and in teaching techniques.

Mr. Wilbur Cohen, Under Secretary of the Department, has this optimistic view:

> We are becoming increasingly aware of the need for sex education in the schools. There is a small but hopeful awakening in some public and private schools to the responsibility of formal education for helping young people understand their own sexual development.
>
> We have a long way to go in this respect, but there are encouraging signs that Victorian inhibitions are giving way to open, direct and constructive public attitudes.

Secretary Gardner enunciated the official Department policy at the beginning of this year. It calls not only for programs of basic and applied research in family planning and population, but for the support of training projects and facilities for the dissemination of family planning information and services.

In this respect, certainly the Secretary made one thing crystal clear: that each individual has the inviolable right to participate, or not to participate, in each and any of these programs as he or she wishes. The right of privacy and of personal conscience remains, now and always, with the individual.

It is readily apparent that attitudes, needs and interests vary substantially from one locality to another. The Department recognizes this, and thus does not intend to adopt only one uniform, centrally-devised series of programs.

Rather, it leaves the initiative up to the local communities and agencies, standing ready to provide a variety of consultative services upon request.

We need manpower in this field; the area is new to Government, and available staff is scanty at the moment. Give us time, and we hope to have more and more skilled people ready to help.

Research in sex education is coming along at a reassuring pace. We are taking advantage of the allied work that is already in progress, such as the studies on reproduction supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

We expect many gains, for example, from research in the areas of illegitimacy, child and maternal health, family planning, poverty, behavior disturbances and the malfunctions of families. Such investigations are now going on in the Welfare Administration, the Social Security Administration and the National Institute of Mental Health.

However, we do not intend to limit ourselves to this form of scholarly hitch-hiking. We know that much more research on human sexuality is needed in the biological, social and behavioral sciences. More is being done, and even more will be done in the future.

A wealth of vital information is already coming out of studies in sociology and psychology. For example, we know that cultural diversity is a significant factor in the approach to sex education. We find all varieties of attitudes on the different social and economic levels, in the different ethnic and religious groups, and certainly in the sexes themselves. Men have a male outlook on sex behavior, sex information, and the roles of men and women. Women have the female view, which is not the same thing at all.

Sex information must be tailored so that it makes sense to each specific group. We need information shaped to fit the needs of pre-adolescents, of teenagers, of adults, with important differences in each case.

There is no one time or place in which sexuality is learned--or mislearned. Human beings learn about sex in a myriad of ways, beginning at birth. It can be learned in the school room, in a church group, from a social welfare counselor, from a father or mother, from a book--or, probably most likely, in the informal social contacts of children and youths.

Children learn--well or poorly--whether or not we teach them.

Thus any approach to sane and sensible education about sex must cover a lot of territory. It has a potentially important place in schools, from kindergarten to adult classes, and we need to find and train more classroom teachers in this area. More than that, we need skilled people who can convey the message through the church, the community, the family service agency and many other channels.

The child's attitude toward sex--and the attitude of the adult he will become--can be shaped or warped by his social and economic station in life.

Poverty, deprivation and isolation offer a multitude of threats to the development of his total health.

The Department [of Health, Education and Welfare] recognizes that the chances for development of "healthy sexuality" are likely to diminish in the absence of economic security, physical and mental health and the advantages of education.

Thus the effort to provide sound counsel on sex is tied in with the activities of this Department and the many other agencies which seek the betterment of the social, physical and economic environments in which human beings live.

The Department is committed to the proposition that services of the highest possible quality--in the fields of physical and mental health, social welfare and education--must be delivered as effectively and as rapidly as possible to those who need them.

We recognize that programs in sex education cannot guarantee healthy sexuality for all, but we are convinced that they can make an important contribution in the overall concept of human welfare. Whatever we do in this field can't miss helping--at least a little--in the healthy development of human beings.

We must set up watchdogs for our programs, constantly alert for the deficiencies that are bound to appear as well as for the clues that will show us we are on the right track.

Experimental work must be subject to constant reevaluation. We may use the classroom approach with lectures, meetings, audio-visual aids and discussion--or we may adopt a less rigid concept under which the teacher will play it by ear, so to speak, according to the individual needs of the youngsters she knows so well.

We will have to experiment, as well, in the training of the needed personnel. Patterns must be established for the involvement of experts in many professions--medical and paramedical, educational, sociological, religious.

We must decide what specific kinds of subject matter are most effective, and in this respect the handbook of readings which SIECUS hopes to develop at this conference should be most helpful.

We must keep tab on what is being done in sex education in the various parts of the country. Before we can assess the total needs, we must know what programs already exist.

We may be in for some pleasant surprises here. I suspect that there are many knowledgeable people who are quietly going about the business of sound and sensible sex education in the colleges, universities, churches and schools--excellent people who may be able to help us more than we can help them.

In summary, let me review the following points:

1. The work of sex education and guidance must be done in many diverse sectors of society, with appropriately varied approaches, and using the skills of specialists in many different fields.

2. Sex education--and related programs for the promotion of total health--are increasingly necessary in these times of rapid social change, shifting values, and expanding knowledge.

3. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is ready, willing and able to support specific programs in research, training and action, upon the request of local agencies and groups.

4. The Federal Government, in cooperation with non-Government groups like SIECUS, recognizes the importance of basic and applied research, the development of personnel, experimentation, and evaluation of a variety of methods and materials.

5. The Government fully recognizes the rights of individuals to participate or not to participate; it will offer sex education to those who wish it, but will never violate the privacy of those who do not.

On behalf of the Secretary and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, I wish you well in your courageous and promising enterprise.

CONTENTS

Page

CONTRIBUTORS ii

FOREWORD v

Mary Calderone, M.D.
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NEW PERSPECTIVES IN SEX EDUCATION. vii

Philip R. Lee, M.D.
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER

1 TRENDS IN SEX EDUCATION. 9

L. A. Kirkendall and R. W. Libby

2 ONE APPROACH TO THE AGE PLACEMENT OF CONCEPTS AND MATERIALS. 34

Helen Manley

3 NORMAL SOCIOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT 47

C. B. Broderick

4 SOME SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SEX EDUCATION. 69

Catherine Chilman

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

CHAPTER

5 SEX EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY 94

Esther Middlewood

6 MASTURBATION 113

W. R. Johnson

7 PREMARITAL SEXUAL STANDARDS. 123

I. L. Reiss

8 SEX AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS. 135

L. A. Kirkendall and R. W. Libby

9 THE SENSITIVE QUESTION 150

Jessie Bernard

10 SEX IN THE CULTURE OF POVERTY. 160

L. Rainwater

11 CHANGING CONCEPTS OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY 176

N. N. Foote

12 THE IMPACT OF CULTURE AND VALUES 191

H. T. Christensen

INTRODUCTION

This book, the first of its kind, is intended to be an initial thrust to break through a major bottleneck in the whole area popularly, if erroneously, labelled "sex education,"[1] namely the short supply of personnel to implement it. The decade of the sixties has seen an enormous concern that this subject be incorporated in the education of the young. But programs everywhere--in schools, churches, professional colleges--have been impeded because, however willing parents, school boards, church groups, and faculties were to install them, there were not enough people to entrust them to. Few colleges of education preparing teachers for elementary and secondary schools made provision for training teachers to deal with this sensitive area and summer institutes to prepare seasoned teachers were handicapped by lack of precedents to guide them. Even medical and theological schools have lacked personnel for teaching about human sexuality.

It is hoped that with a text now available for the preparation of teachers, it will become more feasible than it has been in the past to include in this preparation training for teaching in the area of human sexuality in all its diversity and ramifications, whether this teaching occurs in a specialized course or ramifies throughout the whole curriculum. The fact that this book is aimed primarily in the direction of young men and women in colleges preparing to teach in elementary and secondary schools in no sense implies that schools are the only agents of sex education; it is a responsibility of a much wider gamut of community agencies. But one has to begin somewhere and the preparation of teachers in the schools appears a good starting point.

This book makes a distinction between the knowledge which the teacher--whatever his setting may be--seeks to transmit to his students and the knowledge he himself needs in order to do it. The "raw" knowledge which he seeks to transmit may vary from situation to situation. Some schools may want more, some less. Helen Manley's paper exemplifies the contents of one system's program. SIECUS makes no specific recommendations with respect to the contents of courses; it offers no "bible." The gamut may vary from conservative schools which want to present only a bare minimum amount of--strictly factual--information, limited perhaps to the simple facts of reproduction--a limitation which SIECUS does not recommend--to schools which want no holds barred, which want the widest ramifications of sexuality explored by students, including the relevance of research findings for current mores--an extension which SIECUS would recommend, with caution for only special situations under extraordinary leadership.[2] Between these extremes there is room for a considerable amount of choice.

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[1] The term "social hygiene" originally referred to "all matters which relate to the health or welfare of society in general" but came in time to refer primarily to the "sex centered problems of social health" (M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Education and Sex Ethics," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Macmillan, 14, 1934, p. 10). The emphasis on problems related to sex gave an essentially pathological orientation to the subject, with stress on the venereal diseases and prostitution. A better term than "sex education" for today's orientation would be "education in the nature of human sexuality and the relations between the sexes."

But whatever is selected for presentation to students, the knowledge which the teacher himself needs in order to transmit it at whatever level, the "pedagogical" knowledge, to use an old-fashioned term, is another story and it is this background or pedagogical knowledge which the present book emphasizes.

Here SIECUS does take a position. It strongly recommends that whatever the personal bias any teacher may have with respect to the nature of human sexuality or with respect to current trends in sexual mores, he be well versed in the research currently available on the several aspects of the subject. Ignorance or distortion or rejection of serious research has no place in the training of teachers. This book does not pretend to offer all the current research relevant for teachers of sex education; but it includes at least a minimum.

Knowledge itself, of course, is not enough. SIECUS strongly recommends that only persons who are themselves at ease with the subject of human sexuality be asked to deal with it, for only they are likely to succeed in reaching students. No amount of knowledge or information will create a good teacher if he is uncomfortable talking about sexuality. There is no disgrace in admitting a feeling of uneasiness with the subject. It is a feeling shared by millions of people. In fact, it is precisely because so many do feel uncomfortable with it that teaching presents special difficulties. No teacher should, therefore, feel any hesitancy in requesting to be excused from undertaking this particular assignment. And no administrator should hesitate to excuse him.

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[2] In one school in a state which until recently forbade courses in sex education, a syllabus for a social science course proposing to deal with changing sex roles today was questioned by the principal. In such an ambience, any teacher would be walking on eggshells.

For, in a certain sense, the teacher, to paraphrase a currently popular cliché, is the curriculum. He is teaching himself, his attitudes, his comfortable ability to talk without embarrassment about any aspect of human sexuality. The "cold" facts about sexuality the student could easily pick up by himself; and, in fact, often does. But what he needs as much as the facts, if not more, is a way of thinking and feeling about them.

Here, as elsewhere, honesty is the best policy. A sanctimonious sex-is-sacred attitude on the part of the teacher may well elicit coarse guffaws from the boys in the back seats. The back-alley sex they know is far from sacred. But traditional sex-is-dirty attitude has proved no more successful in helping students achieve the goal of healthy sexuality. Some of the darkest motives of mankind may manifest themselves in sexual behavior; but so, too, are some of the most exalted motives associated with it. Neither sweetness-and-light nor fire-and-brimstone reach most students where they are. As Mary Calderone has pointed out:

> The very notion that sexual experience at the physical level may well be an essential part of the evolution of the individual. . .can be so terrifying as to be almost impossible for most people to contemplate. Yet contemplate it we must, in the same rational objective manner that any scientific question is contemplated, for this is what our young are at present asking of us. Authoritarianism based on mythology has alienated them from us, as has over-permissiveness, perhaps even more dangerously so. What they want, I think, what they need is composure about sex and sexual behavior--the kind of rational composure that permits and facilitates study leading toward understanding of any new area in our lives. . . They need to see us applying the same criteria of scholarliness and validity of observation and measurement to our study and understanding of human sexuality that we do in other fields of study about new and hitherto unknown aspects of life and the world.[3]

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[3] Mary S. Calderone, "Sex, Religion, and Mental Health," Journal of Religion and Mental Health, 6, July 1967, p. 201.

Rational composure that de-fuses the emotional overtones of the subject is one of the major contributions that the teacher can make to his students.

The student needs practice in discussing the whole area of human sexuality in an atmosphere that is not furtive, guilt-laden, frivolous, pietistic, solemn, disparaging, or vulgar but rather open candid, humane, serious (but not rejecting of the humorous aspects of the subject)! In brief, he needs adult help in integrating sexuality into his total personality. It is in this sense that the teacher's attitudes and manner and acceptance of human sexuality constitute the heart of his teaching.

No teacher need be afraid to say "I don't know." Kinsey, it will be recalled, was motivated to undertake his pioneering and epic researches by the chagrin he felt as a biologist when he could not answer the simplest questions of his students about human sexual behavior. His massive studies reduced our ignorance but by no means dispelled it. John Gagnon, of the institute Kinsey founded, can still remark on the extent of the ignorance which remains. We continue to research and add to our knowledge; all of us have seen our own sex education extended by this work. But no one yet knows all the answers.

It is obvious, therefore, that no program of sex education is going to be complete. It might not even be desirable to have it complete. All we can do is pick and choose what is most relevant for most people for the development of healthy sexuality.

The contents of this text follow a simple logic. It deals with some of the pedagogical peculiarities which characterize teaching in the area of sex. If there were no such peculiarities in this area there would be no need for special preparation for teaching in it. It is clear why the teacher has to have a good knowledge of the developmental aspects of sex. He has to know the nature of the student he is facing, where he is in his development, what aspects of sexuality are relevant for him at each developmental stage. The teacher has to be prepared for whatever level he may be dealing with. He has to know the normal expectations whether or not they are valid in any specific situation.

One thread running through these papers is the warning against the expectation that sex education is a panacea. Knowledge, even scientific knowledge, is no guarantee of rational behavior, as the classic case of cigarette smoking clearly shows. Any claim that sex education will guarantee the eradication of venereal diseases or out-of-wedlock births or any other social ill would clearly come under the rubric of fraudulent claims. We cannot even claim that sex education will guarantee healthy sexuality in the students. All that can legitimately be claimed is that sex education can make available the knowledge that is essential for the achievement of healthy sexuality in our society. It can also serve as at least a partial counterweight to the biased "sex education" young people receive from other sources. As Clark Vincent has put it:

> We cannot return to or recapture an "age of innocence" regarding sex, if such an age ever existed. Yet those who argue against providing sex education for youth would appear to believe that an age of innocence still exists, and therefore we still have a choice between providing or not providing sex education. Such a choice no longer exists. Youth is literally inundated with information, ideas and attitudes about sex via television, movies, newspapers, paperback books, magazines and members of their own age group. In view of the quantity of ideas and attitudes about sex readily available to youth, it is pointless to continue debating whether or not youth should receive sex education. They are! The crucial and reality question is: 'Are we satisfied with the quality, the content, the accuracy and the value orientations of the ideas and attitudes about human sexuality which youth is now daily if not hourly receiving from current sources?'[4]

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[4] Clark E. Vincent, "The Pregnant Single College Girl," Journal of American College Health Association, 15, May 1967, p. 49 (special issue).

We cannot promise even to win against this competition. But we have to try; we have to offer a better product.

Although the public to which this book is primarily addressed consists of students preparing to teach in elementary and secondary schools, the hope is that it can also be useful for other students as well and for anyone, in college or outside of college, who has a genuine concern for helping us all achieve the goal of healthy sexuality.

TEACHING ABOUT SEX

Since learning is learning, and since so many readers will already have had thorough grounding in "educational Psychology," it may seem anomalous to introduce this volume with a series of chapters which deal, in effect, with the "pedagogy" of sex education. Why, it might be asked, does this area require special consideration? It does. An exciting assignment in English literature, though not very likely to do so, may conceivably arouse strong emotional response in some students; some may weep at a touching death scene, or become indignant at injustice vividly portrayed. But no course in the school curriculum can have the immediate impact on students at the age of puberty or beyond which is possible in a course dealing with human sexuality. Both experienced and inexperienced teachers recognize the special and characteristic silence that falls upon a class when class discussion turns in this direction. If the teacher is fudging or evading or hiding, the silence and tension continue; they may even become sullen. But if the teacher is candid and honest, making it clear that he is trying to teach rather than, by implication, rebuke, there will be such a liveliness and release of tension by active participation as even perhaps to require calls for order.

Kirkendall and Libby introduce Chapter 1 with a historical review of the movement to introduce sex education into the school curriculum and a survey of the current scene in a wide variety of schools and communities. If it is viewed as a "long shot," the second chapter, may be seen as a "close-up." It is a practical, down to earth sharing by an experienced teacher of what she has learned in one specific city, St. Louis. It presents the "how" and "what" of sex education, including the topics from among which material may be selected. She makes clear that what she found appropriate in her school for her students is not necessarily what every teacher in every school will find appropriate for all students.

Chapter 3 by Broderick then focuses our attention on the students to whom the material is beamed. The socio-sexual development of human beings from infancy to old age is reviewed so that the sex educator will not make the all too common mistake of talking to a 14-year-old boy as though he were a ten-year-old child. Kinsey and his associates warned us of the anomaly of teachers and other sex educators talking to adolescents as though they were not already more active sexually than the teacher, however ignorant they might be with respect to scientific information. We are asked here to be as alert to developmental differences as, let us say, to IQ differences.

The material so far has dealt with essentially normal situations. But in almost every class that any teacher will face, at whatever developmental stage, there are sure to be some members who need more than simple teaching. They need counseling also. The chapter by Catherine Chilman warns the teacher not to confuse the two functions. He should be able to detect signs that indicate counseling is called for; but he should not attempt to supply it himself unless, in addition to teaching, he has been adequately trained for it. This is not to say that individual discussion and conversations are out; they may be extremely useful. But not serious professional counseling. Like so many of the other contributors, she also warns us not to demand more of sex education than it can honestly offer.

Not all teachers in the field of sex education are in schools. Many of them work through other agencies as well as through schools. Esther Middlewood describes their contribution to the total picture. The same general "pedagogic" principles operate in this area of education as in the schools; but they call for special modification when used in the community for an adult audience.

So much, then, for the what? to whom? and how? questions of the "pedagogy" of sex education.

CHAPTER 1

TRENDS IN SEX EDUCATION

by Lester A. Kirkendall and Roger W. Libby

HISTORICAL SURVEY

"A trend is a trend is a trend," as Gertrude Stein would have said. But is it? We are not so sure! Perhaps "a trend is an opinion is simply something someone is trying is only something someone has quit trying."

We will attempt in this chapter, nevertheless, to identify trends in sex education and to comment upon them in a way which will be helpful to those working with or expecting to work with sex education programs in the public schools. We will also engage in some interpretations and summarizing observations.

In pursuit of this objective we have (a) reviewed the writings of some of the leaders in sex education since the turn of the century, (b) drawn from the experience of leaders and schools as they have worked with sex education, and (c) garnered ideas from a questionnaire on trends and directions in sex education in the United States sent to leaders and persons throughout the country who are involved in this area of instruction. Over 75 replies were received from persons in all parts of the country, and they have been most valuable in helping us in analyzing trends and in arriving at our conclusions.

ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUND

The initial impetus for sex education from medical organizations gave it its characteristic stamp for many years. It was in 1904 that Dr. Prince Albert Morrow submitted plans to the New York county medical society for an organization "to limit the spread of diseases which have their origin in the Social evil." A year later the movement for sex education began with the organization by Dr. Morrow of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. In the organizational meeting, Dr. Morrow said that "the object is to organize a social defense against a class of diseases which are most injurious to the highest interest of human society" (2, pp. 229-230).

The name of the official journal was Social Diseases, later changed to the Journal of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. Five years later, in 1910, the American Federation for Sex Hygiene was organized.

In 1912, at a meeting of the International Congress of Hygiene in Washington, D. C., a special committee consisting of three doctors, made a report on "Matter and Methods of Sex Education" which showed that the authors realized the limitations of what had been developed up to that time. Shortly after this, in 1914, the American Society for Social and Moral Prophylaxis and the American Federation for Sex Hygiene merged to form the American Social Hygiene Association. The term "social hygiene" implied a broader conception than "sanitary and moral prophylaxis." In fact, "in its original usage social hygiene included a wide range of health and social matters relating to the welfare of society in general" (3 p. 10).

In the United States, however, the concept of social hygiene came to be limited to "those phases of social health which in their essential nature are sexual" (3 p. 10) and "systematic sex education for both children and adults has from the first occupied an important place in the social hygiene movement" (3, p. 10). The significance of this organizational sponsorship of sex education lies in the fact that the earlier emphases tended to be on the pathological aspects of sexuality rather than on its normal aspects.

TRENDS IN THE LITERATURE

It was not until 1916 that Sex Education, the first major book concerned with sex education in the public schools was published. The author was Maurice Bigelow, Professor of Biology at Teachers College, Columbia University. This influential and ground-breaking book was followed by a widely distributed and important pamphlet, High Schools and Sex Education, published in 1922 and revised in 1939. Both editions were written by Benjamin Gruenberg and printed by the U. S. Government Printing Office. According to the flyleaf these editions were prepared under the direction of the U. S. Public Health Service in collaboration with the U. S. Bureau of Education. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection held in 1930 produced a pamphlet entitled Social Hygiene in Schools (1932). More recently several general books, Sex Guidance in Family Life Education (1947) by Frances Bruce Strain, Sex Education as Human Relations (1950) by Lester A. Kirkendall, and Human Sex and Sex Education (1963) by Warren R. Johnson have appeared. In examining these books the significant finding has been the marked similarity of the basic philosophy of sex education in the public schools over the years as enunciated by the leaders. They have insisted throughout upon at least three points:

1. Sex education must go beyond any one or two limited objectives (e.g. prevention of venereal diseases, provision of reproductive information) to become concerned with the effective sexual functioning of happy, socially well-adjusted persons.
2. Sex education should reflect a positive, life-enriching approach, rather than concentrating upon a negative and repressive view.
3. Sex education is better when it is integrated into the curriculum than it is if it is considered a separate and distinct phase of instruction.

In spite of the limited objective suggested by Dr. Morrow in 1905, in 1916 Dr. Bigelow defined sex education as including:

> . . . all scientific, ethical, and religious instruction and influences which . . . may help young people prepare to solve for themselves the problem of sex. . . . Young people need instruction that relates not only to health but also to attitudes and morals as these three are influenced by sexual instincts and relationships (2, pp. 1-2).

Gruenberg (1922) emphasized an approach which went far beyond the biological:

> . . . sex education in the school means not only the presenting of facts, but also the interpretation of meanings and applications, where they happen to fit in with the subject matter of instruction in any or all of the various school courses or subjects that deal with human interests, human relations, human problems (7).

The White House Conference pamphlet, Social Hygiene in Schools (1932), suggests that the "primary aim of social hygiene is the preservation of the family and the improvement and enrichment of family life" (18, p. 3).

Kirkendall sought to reflect a similarly broad, inclusive concern in the title he chose for his book, Sex Education as Human Relations.

Johnson says:

> . . . educators. . . are furthering the improvement of human relations generally, including the various aspects of sexual adjustment, whenever they predispose young

> people to feel more involved in mankind than in their feelings against people; to be more respectful of fellow human beings than respectable; to be more loving than lovely; to be capable of friendship and not just of friendliness; to be more accepting of themselves, physically and mentally, than rejecting; to use language with proper awareness of its potency, especially perhaps for evil; and to be free of a feeling of obligation to prescribe how other people, including future mates and children, should live. All this kind of thing is, of course, basic sex education . . . (10, p. 195).

The positive, life-enriching point of view is implicit in these quotations. Clearly, efforts to attain this objective will have wide implications for educational practices and instruction.

The integration emphasis was clearly implied from the beginning. Bigelow (1916) discussed the aims of sex education as the basis for the organization of instruction. In this discussion he notes the possibility of including sex education in the biological sciences, in literature, and in general health instruction. He opposed special sex education lectures as they took sex too much out of context.

In High Schools and Sex Education (1922) Gruenberg discussed possible sex content to be incorporated in biology, general science, physiology, physical education, home economics, social studies, and English. He considered the special lecture an "emergency device." In the 1939 edition the same listing was used but brought up-to-date and somewhat elaborated. The integration approach was also adopted by Kirkendall (1950).

One must remember that these were the concepts of leaders. In general their views were far from being followed or practiced by either school authorities or the general public. Bigelow (1916), for example, notes that "personal sex-hygiene" materials are not included in biology textbooks "because educational and public opinion do not stand for such radical lessons in books for schools" (2, p. 99). What would be Bigelow's appraisal of today's books?

Unquestionably, little sex education actually was taught in the schools in the 1920's, 1930's and even the 1940's. Also there is little doubt that when it was, it was restricted largely to reproduction education. Unquestionably also the element of disaster insurance bulked large in what was done--insurance against venereal infection, premarital pregnancy and illegitimacy. The emphasis was strongly repressive and the tone, while elevated in terms of hopes and future potentialities, was severely negative so far as youth and the present were concerned.

What changes have occurred?

TRENDS IN SEX EDUCATION

Over the years several trends have emerged. The element of fear which historically has permeated the whole question of sex education for children is gradually disappearing. With it the inhibitions against open discussion of the concerns of the young people themselves have also gradually disappeared. This is directly related to a second trend, an extension of the variety of approaches and techniques used by sex educators. Third must be noted the increasing acceptance and implementation of the broad, integrated approach recommended by the early leaders in the field. A fourth trend is the movement away from euphemisms and toward using the term "sex" in describing the school program. A fifth trend is the introduction of sex education at increasingly earlier ages. And finally, and most hopefully of all, systematic programs for the preparation and on-the-job training of teachers in this area, have begun to be established.

In the following sections, each of these trends is more fully developed and documented.

DECREASING FEAR, INCREASING OPENNESS

The atmosphere in which sex teaching can take place has gradually become more open, more accepting, less fearful, and less likely to produce opposition. Despite fears which without doubt still exist, it is nevertheless hard to envision the extent and the depth of fears which apparently existed in matters of sex at the turn of the century. This can be seen clearly in books addressed to parents. One of the best examples is a book published in 1906, The Renewal of Life by Margaret Morley. Written for parents, the book literally bristles and crackles with fear. Thus the writer says:

> . . . since there is very great danger in speaking in public on this subject before children, no matter how well the speaking may be done, it is undoubtedly better not to approach it directly in the schools,--at least in grades below the high school. . . . In dealing with this subject the teacher needs to be as wise as the serpent and as harmless as the dove, not only for her own sake

> but for the sake of those she wishes to help. . . . Many a life has been lamed and saddened because of the first terrible and ineradicable impressions it received upon this all-important subject. Many a high-minded man and woman have gone through life tormented by images of the first unworthy thoughts. No matter how good the after-knowledge may be, it is almost impossible to erase from the tablets of memory that old first impression (13, pp. 24-25).

Another writer, Felix Kirsch (1930) in a book addressed to Catholic parents seems extremely frank and open, but suddenly reverses his field. The child must be very persistent if he wants clear answers:

> . . . parents and priests have produced no convincing reason why parents should refuse to answer even the youngest child when he asks: "Where do babies come from?" An attempt on the part of the parents to ignore the question may silence the child and drive him elsewhere for information or let him suspect that there is a mystery that the parents do not wish to discuss. . . . What harm could come from frankly answering the question by saying: "Baby comes from God. And God sent with him an angel, who will stay with baby, day and night, and watch over him to keep away danger." If the child persists and wishes further information, further information should be given frankly (12, p. 189).

While Bigelow's book on sex education in schools was published just ten years following Morley's book, he was clearly less fearful than either Morley or Kirsch. He was insistent on the need to be honest and open about sex:

> The policy of maintaining mystery and secrecy concerning sex has failed with adults even more sadly than children. Health and morals have suffered incalculable injury . . . The wonder is that . . . the world has not developed more sexual vice (2, p. 15).

But Bigelow was still a product of his time, as is clear in much of his book. Fear is clearly evident in his comments about masturbation:

> Have children sleep on a hard mattress. The old-time feather bed was dangerous . . . Do not leave children to their own devices; they may naturally fall into dangerous play. Privacy is often demanded by the moods of adults, but is dangerous for children (2, p. 141).

Frances Bruce Strain (1947) was still reacting to this atmosphere of fear when she wrote:

> Sex teaching is still so uncertain an art, and holds so many possibilities of danger, one hesitates to recommend the addition to it of a flavor of humor. Yet that is what I should like to do. A touch of whimsy here and there along the way does much to keep the whole tenor of the work on an even keel, makes it human. And if now and then something really funny happens or is said and everybody laughs, well--laugh too, why not? . . . . It is almost as hazardous to recommend a tinge of good old-fashion sentiment as it is to recommend a dash of humor (16, p. 266).

She also discussed with her reader-teachers certain personal qualities about which they needed to be most circumspect--size, dress, manner, voice, speech--all of which, according to Mrs. Strain, bore significantly upon success in this field.

Felix Kirsch reflects both fear and disgust, based on religious teachings in his attitude toward nocturnal emissions:

> At night, often during an impure dream, this fluid is ejected from the body. There is in this emission nothing to be alarmed about. It is perfectly natural; even the saints had to suffer it (11, p. 200).

In order to cope with emissions, Kirsch advises:

> . . . try to think of something else, forget about the emission, say a Hail Mary, and turn over and go to sleep (11, p. 200).

Masturbation has always been a subject which brings out fears quickly and quite clearly (note Bigelow above). Fear and distaste colored Gruenberg's (1922) comments on masturbation:

> Many boys get into bad habits of handling their external sex organs. Every boy who has done so knows that it is not the right thing to do and is ashamed of himself for doing it (7, p. 51).

Less fear is present in the 1939 edition, as Gruenberg notes:

> Within a generation we have learned pretty generally that various methods and forms of sensual gratification are practically universal for boys and girls. . . . In

> considering the subject of masturbation, it is necessary to detach ourselves from earlier moralistic assumptions and vague fears about sex . . . [but] The whole question of masturbation must be handled by the qualified teacher with delicacy, but also with a degree of assurance . . . (9, p. 67).

And we have now arrived at the point where a prominent and respected psychiatrist can write that masturbation has a positive contribution to make to development in "any rational concept of personality structure and social relations. Such a view is by no means mine alone but is shared by many of my professional colleagues who are most knowledgable and clinically experienced" (15, pp. 588-589).

None of the respondents to our questionnaire thought that fears of sex and sex education had increased. For each respondent who said there had been no change, eight said the fears had decreased. Many reasons were suggested for this but the ones most commonly mentioned were the frank and open treatment which sex has been receiving in the mass media, and an increasing awareness on the part of parents, teachers, and professional people of the need for sex education, especially for youth.

Some of the respondents made points which are valuable in defining the total situation more sharply. One respondent said that he had dealt with situations in which he felt that fears had grown over a period of time, other situations in which there had been no change, and others where fears had decreased. Even for this respondent the overall trend had been a decrease.

A decline in the fear that some mistake or misstep in sex education might possibly occur would seem to be back of some of the changes in methodology and procedure which are now more common in sex education. For example the respondents to our questionnaire agreed that the sex education lecture (decried by Bigelow), often given by a doctor who was brought in unannounced from the outside, was a thing of the past. When lecturers are brought in now, they are brought in as an integral part of the teaching process, and as such they are likely to be subject to questions by pupils and involved in discussions of pertinent issues.

Our respondents also agreed that the discussion on the part of the pupils is commonly invited rather than avoided, as formerly. An illustration of this trend is seen in open-ended films which invite, rather than block discussion. Thus in the film "Human Growth" the teacher is seen stepping toward the viewer at the close and after her class has been raising questions about various aspects of sex, growth, and development, to suggest that the same procedure can be followed in the classroom where the film has been viewed.

Co-ed classes are now common and ordinarily sought by both teachers and pupils, though some questionnaire respondents felt that there were times when segregated classes could provide better instructional situations. In any event we have moved far beyond Bigelow (1916) who wrote that there

> . . . is no reason why the biological studies should not be coeducational through nature-study and biology as far as the development of frogs and birds and, in a general way, of mammals (2, pp. 109-110).

The White House Conference report (1932), discussing instruction of adolescents suggests however that separation "stimulates sex consciousness and urges, whereas free wholesome social intercourse of the sexes tends to minimize tensions and sublimate these urges" (18, p. 29). Gruenberg (1939) is not quite so accepting on this point, but still, in general, approves of coeducational classes.

Another question which formerly was debated considerably but which is now little debated is whether the teacher should be of the same sex as the pupils. Bigelow fears:

> . . . danger for some boys if they are frankly instructed by attractive young women who are only ten to fifteen years older than their pupils. Hence, I urge great caution if there must be any exceptions to the general rule that teachers and pupils should be of the same sex (2, p. 109).

Gruenberg (1939) feels that the decision on this issue will be determined by the personality of the individual teacher.

Hesitancy still exists, of course, to engage in discussion of certain topics. Any discussion of sexual techniques in intercourse is universally professed to be proscribed, as is instruction about contraceptive techniques and devices. These restrictions have, to the knowledge of the writers, been breached in individual counseling and small group situations, and even in the case of contraceptive teaching, in high school formal class situations.

It is the authors' impression that there is less tendency now to surround the teaching of sex with such an aura of sacredness and sentimentality that it can scarcely be discussed. This tendency seems to us to have been a reaction to a feeling that open discussion was somehow fearful and threatening. We could quote many highly sentimental statements from older books, but will forego this temptation.

Some of the questionnaire respondents still foresaw the likelihood of considerable opposition to sex education. Two sources of this potential opposition were suggested--fundamentalist church groups and parents or other persons disillusioned with the failure of sex education to meet their expectations in channeling the sexual behavior of youth.

The way with which sex educators deal with the moral issue is undoubtedly of great concern. Success or failure at this point has tremendous implications for the success or failure of sex education. The concern created by the publicity which refers to a "sexual revolution" and "declining moral standards" has without question had considerable influence in bringing some parents to favor sex education. This support has at the same time a certain element of precariousness about it. Several of our questionnaire respondents noted that awareness of the presumed changes in sexual behavior among youth was bringing support and even generating pressure upon the schools to establish sex education programs. But some of these respondents also suggested that what these supporters were expecting was that the schools would in some way be able to reverse the supposed behavioral trend toward a greater sexual freedom--to put the lid back on, so to speak. What, then, happens if it becomes clear that sex education is not actually accomplishing this?

That the issue of morality is a central one is acknowledged by practically everyone who has worked with sex education programs for adolescents. As an illustration, The National Association of Independent Schools has given priority to the inclusion of sex education in the instructional programs of the schools making up the Association. In the summary report of a two-day institute held in April, 1966, (19) one of the central issues was that of "sex education and morality."

The trend of the discussions concerning morality in the schools will undoubtedly parallel the debate going on in the churches. Here the issue is between two widely divergent views. There are those who wish to adhere strictly to the legalistic code in which a particular pattern of behavior is regarded as exemplifying morality. Others feel that certain principles may be adhered to, and that behavior may vary from one situation to another while still remaining faithful to these basic principles.

Several school systems have already dealt with the moral issue by adopting the latter point of view. These schools have accepted the concept that the building of relationships which have in them integrity, sincerity and outreach is a moral position which they can support in good conscience. This approach is acceptable to many religionists and yet at the same time does not involve the school in "religious instruction" or in supporting any particular creed or dogma.

The point of view to be taken with reference to premarital intercourse is without doubt the most sensitive of all the issues with which teachers have to deal. Formerly they were fortified by a well-nigh universally accepted taboo against any kind of premarital sexual expression. Today, however, the teacher is faced with a wide range of views concerning premarital intercourse, and each within the context of a particular view of morals held by the writer (i.e. the books listed under entry 20 in the references at the end of the chapter). Moreover, rather than being commended, the teacher is now criticized, by some educational leaders at least, when she indulges in advice-giving or engages in didactic moralism. On this issue and in the approach to moral instruction, the contemporary teacher is caught in a paralyzing crossfire. [See Jessie Bernard's discussion of the $64 Question, Chapter 9].

The future development of sex education programs would seem inseparably bound with the success the schools have in resolving the moral issue. This brings us to the question: What shall be the objectives of sex education?

INCREASING BREADTH OF OBJECTIVES

The objectives of sex education are being broadened and instruction aimed at their achievement is being implemented. Four objectives which are being emphasized as an integral part of modern sex education can be distinguished. One is a concern with building an understanding of changing sex roles. [See Chapter 11 by Nelson Foote.] This objective was mentioned by the questionnaire respondents as one of the important and primary objectives which needed attention in the future. The whole question of male-female interaction in the family, in the business and professional world, at play, and in all of life generally, seems almost certain to require an increasingly greater amount of attention in sex education.

A second objective is the spelling out in a concrete and comprehensible way of the place of sex in the individual's personal and family life. The relationship of sex to love, the place and significance of sex in marriage, and the sex education of children are examples of the topics which will need to be dealt with in relation to this objective.

The development of self-understanding in relation to one's sexual nature and needs is a third objective which is being increasingly recognized as important. That this objective will gain increasing attention was the view of a number of our questionnaire respondents. It is also an emphasis which is being incorporated in many curricular outlines and units.

This objective, if it can be fully realized, will undoubtedly help greatly in the acceptance of instruction about human sexuality. In the fullest sense what happens is exactly what has just been suggested--"sex education" becomes "education about human sexuality." This is sex in context.

We are only at the beginning so far as this development is concerned, but various leaders and various programs are reflecting an awareness of the need and value of linking sexuality with self-understanding.

A state-wide program in Kansas has sprung from the combined efforts of the University of Kansas Medical Center, the State Department of Health and the State Department of Education. Workshops have been developed to help school administrators and teachers to incorporate sex instruction as an integral part of all learning about human development. The conceptual context in which instruction concerning sexuality is embedded is that of human growth and development.

Other programs may relate instruction concerning sexuality to personality and emotional growth; others to the development of an individual identity; others with a sociological approach to cultural understanding and adjustment. But regardless of the particular emphasis which may be chosen, the result is an enmeshing of sex in a context. The isolation--the setting apart of sex from the rest of life--is thus lessened. This has in the past been one of the great deficiencies of and one of the serious retarding forces to sex education.

The fourth objective--and this was mentioned with much greater frequency than any of the other three by our questionnaire respondents--is that of helping the pupil arrive at a condition of insight and understanding which will enable him to engage in responsible decision-making. The phrase "responsible decision-making" is much in vogue. Still in view of the extent to which youth are expected to, and do, make their own decisions, it seems quite properly so.

The realization of this objective, however, involves much more than simply some procedural variations or methodological innovations. The very foundation of the learning-teaching process is involved. Sex educators in the past when they have dealt with behavioral issues and moral questions, have undoubtedly relied mainly on inveighing and persuasion. They have ordinarily presented a conventional view limited in scope to that generally regarded as acceptable in the community. This is, of course, working toward the realization of the decision-making objective--but with the intent to get the pupils to decide in the direction toward which the teacher has been persuading.

But what happens when teaching is conducted in full realization that the pupil will make his own decision? How does teaching proceed in the case of deciding for or against cigarette smoking, or for or against going into a certain occupational field? A certain teaching procedure designed to facilitate problem-solving and decision-making becomes necessary.

The typical procedure in other decision-making areas is to (a) examine the facts established and tested through experience and research, (b) analyze and interpret these in light of one's own experience and basic philosophy, and (c) to arrive at a decision derived through this process. The question is: Are we at a point in our teaching about the various sensitive areas of human relations--not just sex, but interracial associations, divorce, or cross-sex friendships for married persons--which will permit us to utilize an approach to decision-making in which we look at the various possibilities surrounding these issues objectively?

Several writers, i.e., Reiss, Hudson and Broderick (14, 9, 4), have been critical of high school and university textbooks and instruction because they seem inadequately grounded in the logical processes of decision making. Thus Broderick writes:

> As a survey of high-school texts will quickly show, what students get in the chapters on boy-girl relations is advice illustrated with case studies, advice illustrated with cartoons, even, occasionally, advice illustrated with data from some study. The problem with advice is that . . . it does not recognize or make use of the students' own experience and insights. These are often extensive. Neither does advice-giving open the way to effective communication between the teacher and the students (4, p. 102).

The likelihood that the objective of "responsible decision-making" will continue to be sidetracked by direct advice-giving is great, and its realization is one of the major challenges before family life-sex educators.

Efforts to implement the "decision-making" objective have led to a concern with teaching procedures which will provide pupils with some experience in decision-making processes. Pupils are being more and more encouraged to ask questions and to contribute suggestions as to what they would like in the program. Discussional interchange between pupils and between pupils and teachers is being emphasized. The emphasis upon dialogue is increasingly encouraged by the better and more experienced teachers, particularly those working with adolescents.

A particularly interesting illustration of the emphasis on dialogue was provided by Elk Grove (California) High School, in the spring of 1966. The students of this high school with the help of their teachers planned a school conference with the theme: "Who Am I?" All classes were dismissed for the day, speakers were brought in and discussion leaders were trained to lead forum groups. Six forum groups were organized, one of which was on the family, another on personal values. Questions relating to family adjustments, dating, sex education and preparation for marriage were so predominant that these issues were clearly central concerns of the pupils. A similar conference was held in 1967. The entire conference in 1967 centered around family, sex and dating concerns.

Interesting illustrations of the way in which openness in pupil expression may change the direction or emphasis of programs exist. In Montana the State Department of Health working with the State Department of Education developed a program entitled Education for Parenthood. In the beginning the program was just what the title implied, but the pressure of pupil concern for dating and sexual problems has continually pushed the program more and more into this emphasis.

In Orono, Maine, after a series of incidents demonstrating the need for sex education, adult leaders representing parents, school administrators, church and youth agency leaders, and university people met and decided to plan a series of three meetings for high school youth on the theme, "Morality--1964." Feeling the need for the opinion of the young people themselves a meeting was called to check plans with representative youth from the high school. At this meeting, to quote the adult report, "the young people took a dim view of the innocuous and fuzzy language in the proposed title and asked quite frankly what the adults were trying to do (put over on them). They suggested a title for the project that they believed would have more drawing power and was, after all, 'what we are concerned about.' It became known as The Three P's--Parking, Petting, and Problems" (20).

Reproduction information and understanding still remain among the objectives of sex education, but it is becoming only one of many, particularly for pupils past the period of early childhood.

INCREASING THE VARIETY OF APPROACHES

Sex education, in the process of being extended, is resulting in many and varied instructional and organizational arrangements. A strong emphasis now exists upon the development of sex education programs to span the entire school period, kindergarten through twelfth grade. A number of schools have developed outlines and listings of topics and materials for such programs, and according to statements made to the authors schools are proceeding with their efforts to see that this instruction is implemented throughout the span of the public school system.

Variations are common in the plans which are followed in instructional programs. Most schools in which sex education is a part of the elementary school program utilize incidental instruction. Reproduction information may be one of the objectives accomplished through the keeping of animal pets in the classroom; knowledge of nutrition and male-female parental roles may also be a consequence if the teacher chooses to make it so. Discussion of the coming of new babies into families, examination of concepts about babies and reproduction held by the children, and the roles of human fathers and mothers may grow out of the story hours. Joint use of toilet facilities may familiarize boys and girls with differences in anatomy and physiological processes.

Discussions related to the biological and natural sciences in the middle grades may go into these subjects and other aspects for growth and development more deeply. Boys and girls may be prepared for impending physical maturation in their health classes through the use of films and discussion. In the upper grades definite units designed to fulfill these needs may be included. Times and ways may be provided for children to ask perplexing questions about themselves and the other sex.

At the high school level formal units or informal discussions relating to pertinent aspects of sex may be incorporated in biology, general science, physiology, physical education, home economics, social studies and English (as suggested by Gruenberg). Counselors may deal with the personal sex problems of pupils.

Many high schools have instituted family living courses for their pupils particularly at the junior and senior level. The Corvallis (Oregon) High School has an elective coeducational semester-length family living course in the social studies department which enrolls juniors and seniors. Various topics related to dating, love, mate selection and marriage are discussed with sexual questions freely raised and discussed.

Particular concern is manifested for sex in interpersonal relationships.

The Hayward (California) Unified High School (now joined by Castro Valley and San Lorenzo High Schools) has pioneered in a more elaborate family life program. Each student as he enters the ninth grade becomes the advisee of a home room teacher who serves him as a counselor-advisor for his four full years. In the twelfth grade a course, Sociology I (Family Living Instruction) is taught by this teacher for all of his advisees. This enables the teacher to base his family living instruction on an intimate knowledge of his students gained from three years service as their advisor. It also provides for a combination of group instruction and a personal adaptation derived from personal counseling relationships with the pupils. In this setting sex questions and discussions are an integral part of both the group instruction and individual counseling.

The Hayward program has now been expanded to include adult (particularly parent) education in these areas.

An interesting aspect of the Hayward program is that it is built upon a succession of concepts which should, in the opinion of the curriculum builders, be developed grade by grade. Now that this program is being extended from kindergarten through the twelfth grade, a listing of concepts is being prepared to encompass the full scope of the program. This concept-building approach provides an interesting contrast with programs which are based on a subject matter sequence. [See Chapter 2 by Helen Manley for one example of the former approach.]

Anaheim, California is now working with a program which was initiated, *after a one-year pilot program*, in the fall of 1964. The program, following the organization of the school district, encompasses grades 7-12. In order to find time for this instruction, five weeks of the year's time for health and physical education have been allocated to the "family life and sex education" program. These time segments are so planned that each pupil is enrolled for five weeks in each grade, in a sequence which proceeds as follows: 7th, self-understanding; 8th, philosophy of life and values; 9th, morals in dating and premarital relations; 10th, human sexuality, engagement, mate selection; 11th, communication (dialogue and discussion emphasized); and 12th, family, marriage roles, child care.

In both the Anaheim and the Hayward programs the teachers have been initially selected for their interest in the program, and their competence and confidence built and supported through continuing in-service preparation.

Other interesting variations for providing instruction are found. We have, for example, the day-conference plan at Elk Grove, California, just described. In Kansas City, Missouri, the health and physical education division has pioneered in sex instruction over television. Team teaching has been used in a number of schools to provide an interdisciplinary emphasis and/or male-female views.

Churches are moving into the sex education area with great rapidity also, and seemingly with less fear of community repercussions than the schools. Several of our questionnaire respondents noted this development, but also noted that the liberal churches were unquestionably moving more rapidly in this venture than the more conservative church groups. A number of respondents said, however, that in their opinion the churches were outdistancing the schools in their willingness and success in building programs, particularly those geared to the needs of adolescents.

DECREASING USE OF EUPHEMISMS FOR "SEX EDUCATION"

One of the running debates has related to the term which should be used to designate instruction about sex. The strong antipathy toward sex and the heavy taboos surrounding the subject have carried over to the term "sex education." This term has in the past excited fears, stirred disapproval, and connotated a narrow limited approach. The result has been a continuing search for some euphonious term which would at the same time be clear enough to designate what was being taught. As already noted, Dr. Bigelow used the term "social hygiene" education--a term which grew rather naturally out of the prevailing concern for suppressing venereal (or "social") diseases. Later, numerous other terms were suggested to supplant this term and each had its day and its adherents--"health and human relations education," "education for personal and social living," and "personal and social guidance."

Undoubtedly the term "family living" has proved to be the most common and acceptable term. This is the context within which the sex education aspects of the pioneering San Diego program have been contained. In this manner the instruction concerning sex is naturally set in a family and a personal relationship context, which is as it should be. Also in this context it has appeared less stark and more sheltered from the view of those who would criticize. Unfortunately, however, the term has often served as an inclusive one which permitted those so disposed (and there were many) to drop the sex education content altogether. Also family living encompassed so many facets that the sex education aspect, which is an area of such importance to adolescents, was often very inadequately treated even when it was included. And finally there are many aspects of sexual understanding which need to be and properly are taught outside the family life context. There is, furthermore, such a wide range of possible definitions for family life education, as Force (6) and others have noted, that any precision in definition is extremely difficult.

In spite of these circumstances many still felt strongly that direct references to sex education imperil the entire instructional program through making it more vulnerable to public criticism. Yet the Superintendent of Schools in Anaheim, California, Mr. Paul Cook, asked specifically for the term "sex education" to be added, so that this school program would be known as "family life and sex education." His reasoning was that the sex education phase is badly needed, and that it is time to abandon the subterfuge and evasiveness of the past for a direct statement about what is being taught. Yet he wanted the sex education aspect put in a broader setting and so chose the family life context. In a second outline obtained from still another school the program was entitled "health guidance and sex education." The same kind of linkage has come to our attention from other sources. There are apparently increasing numbers who feel that the time has come to use the phrase "sex education" directly as an open and honest effort to get this phase of instruction adequately incorporated in the school curriculum at various points.

Similar reasoning led to the decision to form the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States as a separate and independent organization rather than try to attach it as a division to some currently existing organization. The response to the program of this organization has been great enough to suggest that public and professional opinion may now be ready for a much more direct approach than heretofore.

INTRODUCTION OF MATERIALS AT INCREASINGLY YOUNGER AGES

The emphasis on kindergarten through high school programs suggests that educators are becoming aware of the need for getting help to pupils earlier than has been the case in the past. Youth themselves have always voiced the "too little and too late" criticism. Their views are supported by Broderick (4) who has done extensive research on the dating and heterosexual interests and activities of children from ages ten to the middle teens. [See Chapter 3.] He has demonstrated that numbers of boys and girls at even the earliest of these ages have cross-sex interests and experiences beyond the expectations of most adults. He comments:

> . . . The findings indicate that for many children a special interest in members of the opposite sex begins in kindergarten or before. Crushes on classmates, teachers, and admired adults of the opposite sex are common throughout grade school. Kissing games are normative at third to sixth-grade levels, and some kissing "when it means something special" occurs at these ages also. In some communities dating begins for a substantial number of children in the fifth and sixth grades, and going steady is common at the junior high school level. . . . The strong impression emerges that young people increasingly bring more heterosexual experience and sophistication to family-life classes than is assumed by most textbooks and course outlines. . . .
> By the junior or senior year of high school, when the students are most likely to encounter a family-living course, many have had five or more years of romantic interest in and romantic interaction with members of the opposite sex (4, p. 102).

INCREASE IN TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMS

Despite some progress the point of greatest lag is still in the preparation of teachers. This was noted over and over by the respondents to the questionnaire. How to overcome this weakness is a matter of much concern. Upon its solution doubtless depends the future of sex education.

Two major sources of teacher preparation should be noted in connection with this need. The first is the undergraduate preparation of prospective teachers. What most teacher-preparatory programs do if they are good programs, is to provide basic instruction in psychology, human growth, personality development and sociological awareness, upon which an understanding of human sexuality and sexual behavior can later be built. But few teacher-preparatory programs indeed do anything directly about sexuality itself or recognize sex education as an aspect of instruction in the public schools.

The second source is in-service training of teachers. This has progressed much further--enough further that in every section of the United States can now be found summer workshops, weekend conferences, or extension courses dealing with sex education and human sexuality.

The in-service training aspect of teacher preparation would seem at the moment to be much stronger and by far the most promising of the two sources. The in-service aspect is even now able to reflect the same variability already noted in the discussion of high school instructional programs.

The Kansas workshops for teachers and administrators based upon the human growth and development approach have already been noted. The state of Minnesota Departments of Public Health and Education have on two different occasions held weekend conferences in which teachers and other leaders interested in sex education have met with national authorities, viewed and evaluated new materials and discussed problems. At the University of Oregon and Oregon State University, high school youth and high school teachers have been enrolled as students in the same workshop in an effort to break through communication barriers. Cities like Phoenix, Arizona; Santa Rosa, California; and San Jose, California; have provided special in-service programs for their teachers. The Kansas City Social Health Association, as a community agency has conducted afternoon and evening workshops for teachers in particular districts.

Thus we have at present to deal with a field of instruction which is alive and moving. The challenge is to build a firm and sound foundation for it, to arrive at some consensus on objectives, and to build community understanding which will support the needed programs.

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Kirkendall and Libby summarized a large number of current trends and experiments in the schools with respect to sex education. In this chapter, Helen Manley, a teacher who has had years of experience in public schools, personalizes the trends by describing her own experiences. She defines what the term "sex education" has and has not meant, she gives us the beneift of her observation of and participation in the inauguration of sex education programs, including guide-lines to follow. She re-emphasizes the importance of prepared teachers. She then summarizes the many topics, including reproduction but by no means at the expense of other topics, which she has found pertinent in her own experience. Although neither SIECUS nor the sponsors of this volume is willing to lay down a prescribed curriculum for courses dealing with human sexuality, the experience of teachers who have worked in this area can be useful as a starting point. Every teacher will have to decide which topics her own students want or need instruction on and the contents may well vary even from class to class. The material discussed under "dating behavior," for example, will not be identical in, let us say, an avant garde progressive school and in a parochial school. But students in both are entitled to have it presented.

CHAPTER 2

ONE APPROACH TO THE AGE PLACEMENT OF CONCEPTS AND MATERIALS

by Helen Manley

STARTING A PROGRAM OF SEX EDUCATION

The curriculum as related to art education in each school district will be planned to meet the needs of the children in that area, at their various developmental stages, and also to allow variations in neighborhoods in the district. Children come to school from different homes, from different socioeconomic classes, from different racial and cultural backgrounds, with differing religions and ideologies. The objectives of sex education are the same for all of these children, but the way to achieve them may vary widely. Care and discrimination must therefore be used in the selection of teaching materials and in the choice of staff to teach.

Educators, including curriculum consultants, principals, and teachers are equipped to outline the plans, but a large and representative advisory council of citizens of the community is an essential adjunct.

A few guide-lines for introducing a program might well include:

1. Approval of the school authorities. The members of the Board of Education or Directors and the administrative officers must understand the curriculum and give it their strong support. All of the teaching personnel should likewise be informed of the plans and their support sought.
2. Understanding on the part of the community. The citizens of the community should be informed of any new plans for the education of the children, in the area of sex no less than in, let us say, the so-called "new" mathematics. Awareness of the needs for sex education has been evident for decades, despite the deplorable void in its availability in the schools. The abundant evidence of the need felt for sex education can be emphasized in talking to P.T.A.'s, service organizations, church groups, or others interested.
3. Sex education should fit smoothly into the whole plan of study. There should be nothing special or different or unusual about it. There should be nothing about it that suggests that it is daring; if special equipment is needed or if small discussion groups are used, these should not be made to seem extraordinary. All children should be involved; no special permission should be required.
4. Constant and thoughtful evaluation. Suggestions should be requested. Communities change rapidly and citizens need to be kept aware of the sex education program. Scientific information expands and the program must keep pace.
5. Prepared teachers. Because of the fundamental importance of the teacher, noted throughout this whole volume, special emphasis is warranted here also.

THE TEACHER

The teacher is the most vital factor in the success of any sex education program. But it is precisely here that teacher-training has been least adequate. Unlike the traditional contents of the curriculum for teacher-preparation, the area of "sex education" has found little place. Even today few if any colleges have specific courses to prepare teachers (let alone the run-of-the-mine college student--to deal with it). Naturally the subject of sex could not be completely excluded in the training of teachers, for it is a major variable in all psychological studies of individual differences, so that it is a major component in many courses in psychology. It is, similarly, a major variable in all sociological studies of social structure, including the sexual basis of the division of labor basic in all societies. In more applied form the subject of sex appears in courses in child development, home economics, guidance, health, and personal and family living.

But all too often sex has been dealt with either incidentally or from a purely biological or institutional point of view. Nowhere has it been dealt with as a teaching area in which the future teacher would have to be proficient, with pedagogical problems of a unique character. One intent of this book is to make available a text for persons preparing to teach at any level, from the primary grade in schools to mature participants in professional workshops or school internes.

In the elementary school all teachers should have a sound philosophy in this subject, be free of inhibitions, and be able to answer children's questions without embarrassment. Those who highlight the program in the secondary schools should have some knowledge of the basic sciences of biology, anatomy, and physiology. The success of the teacher is not based on sex, marital status or parenthood, but rather on the acute understanding of the skills of living, and human inter-relationships weighted with experience and fine sensitivity.[1] These are some of the likely constituents in the successful sex education teacher:

1. A thorough liking and sympathetic understanding of children and youth; a trust and belief in his pupils.

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[1] Helen Manley - A Curriculum Guide in Sex Education, State Publishing Co., Inc., St. Louis, Mo. 7 63136, 1967, p. 12.

2. A wholesome attitude toward sex. This would come more easily from one who had experienced a wholesome family life of his own.
3. Good common sense and judgment which would include a fine sensitivity toward the morals, customs, and ideals of the community.
4. A spontaneous dignified sense of humor. Laughter, however, is never acceptable at the expense or embarrassment of an individual.
5. Knowledge of the scientific background materials: this is part of the body of knowledge of doctors, nurses and majors in Health Education. However, it is perhaps the area of proficiency most easily acquired. Books, charts and many other visual aids are readily available, and the student will respect an occasional "I don't know, let's look it up."

Certified teachers have already studied psychology, child growth and methods of teaching. A background in the biological sciences may be new to the elementary school teachers, but the depth needed for these age-level children can be easily acquired. In the secondary school, sex education would probably be placed in the sciences or health where teachers have developed some proficiency in science. In general, however, teachers have had little or no preparation for teaching sex education, and may feel inadequate or quite adverse to adding this to their heavy schedule. Some have matured without a broad view of sexuality, and have associated sex solely with the genitals and vulgarity. Others think they need much added information in the areas of physiology and anatomy to do the job. Truly, the vast number of graduates emerging as teachers do lack a background in the area called health, which has been a neglected and omitted part of the curriculum of the public schools for several decades. High school graduates enter college having little or no health instruction, so teacher education institutions have found students with a poor background in Health, and a very short time allotment in which to build one. The Health curriculum for prospective teachers of Health too, has in general been inadequate. The circle develops: so that with little demand for health teachers, strong majors in health education have been lacking. Administrators, however, who are realizing the child's need for sex education are not waiting until the undergraduate courses are improved, but are setting up extensive in-service programs. All teachers in the school system must understand the need for sex education, how it is being planned for the school system, and their specific part in it. They may also need some experience in what is called sensitivity training, to examine their own attitudes toward human sexuality and free themselves from any prejudice or inability to speak comfortably about this area of the curriculum.

AN ILLUSTRATIVE PROGRAM

We noted above that there seems to be a consensus developing about the general contents of a program or course in the area of sex education. But we have repeatedly stated that there is no perfect, correct, universally applicable curriculum suitable for all schools in all communities. The material that follows represents only one such curriculum and is presented not as a model for everyone to copy but as suggestive of what may be included. It is specific enough to assure each child's getting the necessary information and flexible enough to allow for the teacher's judgment and creativity in using it. It is based on the assumption that sex education in the schools starts at the kindergarten and continues through the twelfth grade, as it fits smoothly into the total educational program. It does not mean that fragments of information are imparted at each grade, but that each teachable moment is used, that children's questions are answered, and that at certain maturity levels specific areas of sex education are highlighted.

PRIMARY GRADES

Many learning experiences in the primary grades are based on human and family development. The child comes from a family where he may have mother, father, brothers and sisters. New babies are arriving in the homes of these children; they are eager, interested, and curious. The child may have received excellent sex information, or have had negative experiences. The teacher may merely be strengthening what the child has learned, or he may be trying to establish new attitudes and values in the area of sexuality.

The objectives for each child in these early years can be stated as follows:

1. To acquire a wholesome attitude toward his body.
2. To use the correct terminology and vocabulary in reference to all parts of his body.
3. To understand the value of having a family and being a good family member.
4. To understand the elementary facts of reproduction.
5. To know that boys and girls are different, and each is very important.
6. To lessen and prevent unnecessary handling of the body.
7. To talk about the body openly and without embarrassment.

Daily living presents many opportunities for reaching these objectives. Routine toilet procedures offer the right time to emphasize correct terminology. New babies in the homes of the children bring questions about their origin; and care of growing things in the classroom provides opportunities for learning the growth and development of living things and answering queries on, "How do plants grow?" "How do animal's grow?" "How do I grow?" At the end of the primary grades a child should know:

1. Where babies come from.
2. How the baby got in.
3. How the baby will get out.
4. The sex differences between boys and girls, and the reasons for these differences.
5. That living things begin from a seed.
6. That human beings are mammals.
7. How the mammal feeds its young from its own body.
8. How the baby lies in the mother's body.
9. The part the hospital and doctor play in the birth of a baby.
10. The importance of the family.

His vocabulary should include understanding:

Urine
Urination
Bowel Movement
or
Defecation
Penis
Vagina
Breast

Pregnant
Sperm
Egg
Abdomen
Stomach
Reproduction
Nipple
Wean

Children will have questions at various times; and teachable moments will present themselves frequently. Teachers will seize these to help children with facts, standards and values.

INTERMEDIATE GRADES

In the intermediate grades, however, some formal teaching also needs to occur. The age level for teaching the various facts would depend on the children involved and the administrative set-up. Before specifically highlighting human reproduction, background information on cell structure and the other systems will make for better understanding. All this can be embodied in the health and science curriculum.

The objectives in the sex education area for these grades might be stated as:

1. To stress and continue to develop a healthy attitude toward sex.
2. To emphasize the wonder, as well as the science of reproduction.
3. To supply and help children use scientific vocabulary for a dignified discussion of the body processes.
4. To establish in students an ease and freedom in talking frankly about sex, and asking any puzzling questions.
5. To help preadolescents understand the changes taking place in their bodies, and the variance in individual growth patterns.
6. To develop an appreciation of the role each member of the family plays.
7. To assist each child in assuming his own sex role.
8. To develop an understanding of social customs and conventions.

Needed Vocabulary

Abdomen
Adolescent
Anus
Bladder
Born
Breast
Breeding
Caesarean
Chromosomes
Egg
Embryo
Endocrine
Fallopian Tube
Feces
Females
Fertilize
Fetus
Foreskin
Fraternal

Genes
Genitals
Glands
Hatch
Heredity
Hormones
Identical
Male
Mammal
Mating
Menstruation
Milt
Multiple Births
Navel
Nipple
Ovary
Ovulation
Ovum
Pelvis

Penis
Pituitary
Placenta
Pollen
Pregnant
Pre-Adolescent
Puberty
Rectum
Reproduction
Scrotum
Siamese
Sperm
Testes or testicles
Twins
Umbilical
Urinate
Urine
Uterus
Vulva
Vagina
Womb

These specific areas of the Sex Education Curriculum would be covered in the intermediate grades.

I. Your growth and development
    A. Living things make new life

- B. You started from two cells
    - 1. Egg or ovum from mother
    - 2. Sperm from father
    - 3. Sperm enters the egg---fertilization
- C. You, the fertile cell, needed continued nourishment and air
- D. The creation of you, a baby

II. The birth of the baby

III. Changes in your body as you grow
- A. Similar in boys and girls
- B. Different in boys and girls
- C. Variance in individual

IV. Reproductive organs and functions
- A. Boys
- B. Girls

V. Variances in birth---position, cesarian, multiple

VI. Heredity

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The early adolescent faces many climacteric conditions in growing into adulthood and needs scientific knowledge along with much sympathetic understanding. The development of the primary and secondary sex characteristics give youth a decided awareness of sex, and the variance and irregularity of this development require an understanding of basic physiology. While his interest may change almost in minutes from childish pursuits to adult desires he is anxious to be grown up and assume his sex role. In planning the unit of Sex Education for these twelve to fifteen year olds consideration must be given to the subject matter area in which it is taught, and the vast difference in the usual sex experiences that may occur between the age limits. Some children will have done some sex experimentation while others will need referral to the intermediate program. Too, the unit may be placed at the 7th, 8th, or 9th grade level, or be taught in graded amounts each year. Certainly at this very difficult age boys and girls should have ready access to a definite teacher or counsellor to talk with, and to answer his questions.

The objectives of the unit in Junior High are:

1. To help students gain scientific information on growth and sexual maturity.

2. To establish respect for human relationships and to understand the social mores.
3. To encourage boys and girls to discuss sex in scientific language, and with dignity and lack of embarrassment.
4. To give honest, frank answers to the sex questions and problems of youth.
5. To develop or improve family relations of students now and give ideals for their future families.

The Teaching Unit might include:

I. Body changes in adolescence
   A. General
      1. Spurt of growth
      2. Change in proportions
      3. Unevenness in growth
      4. Variations that may puzzle---one breast larger; one testicle lower, etc.
   B. Boys
      1. Primary
         a. Development of reproductive organs Testes, scrotum, penis, prostate
         b. Erection of penis
         c. Emissions
      2. Secondary
         Growth of beard - hair on body - increased musculature - change of voice - newly activated sweat glands
   C. Girls
      1. Primary
         a. Fuller development of reproductive organs, ovary, uterus, vagina, fallopian tubes
      2. Secondary
         Widening of pelvic bone - growth of hair - rounding of body contour - breast development - newly activated sweat glands

II. Physiology of Sex
   A. Function of male reproductive organs including seminal emissions and erection
   B. Function of female reproductive organs
   C. Masturbation
   D. Homosexuality

III. Reproduction
   A. Conception---mating
   B. Pregnancy
   C. Birth, with variations
   D. Inheritance

IV. Boy - girl relations - dating
  A. Kinds of dates
  B. Behavior and responsibility in dating
    1. How to ask, accept or refuse
    2. What to do
    3. What not to do
    4. Signals of going too far
    5. Possible results of going too far - loss of respect for self and each other - pregnancy - venereal disease

V. Being a parent
  A. Responsibility of being a parent
  B. Responsibility of being a son or daughter

VI. A Family
  A. What makes a family
  B. What is your responsibility in your family
  C. Your future family

Vocabulary for Junior High

Abdomen
Adolescent
Abortion
Birth canal
Cervix
Chancre
Chromosomes
Clitoris
Conception
Contraceptives
Congenital
Contraction
Egg
Embryo
Emission
Ejaculation
Epididymis
Erection
Fallopian
Fertilization
Fetus

Fraternal
Gland
Genes
Genitals
Gonorrhea
Heredity
Homosexual
Hymen
Infatuation
Insemination
Intercourse
Labor
Mating
Masturbation
Menopause
Menstruation
Nuclei
Ovary
Ovulation
Ovum
Pelvic
Placenta

Penicillin
Penis
Petting
Physiology
Pituitary
Prostate gland
Puberty
Scrotum
Seminal vescicle
Sexual intercourse
Sperm
Sterile
Syphilis
Tampon
Testes-testicle
Twins-siamese
Uterus
Urethra
Vagina
Venereal
Vulva
Womb

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Senior high school students today have high intellectual potential and need to be challenged by the sciences which support information, and the social sciences which determine behavior. The interest for the sex-oriented world in which they live requires scientific answers and sympathetic help in establishing a base philosophy for living a satisfying life as an adult.

The administrative set-up will determine how this phase of education will be absorbed in the curriculum. In some schools it may be taught in progressive parts at the 10th, 11th, and 12th grade levels, in others it is put as a part of a required health or science course in one of these grades.

Objectives of a Senior High Unit may be stated:

1. To give student an understanding and appreciation of the family in our culture, his responsibility as a member of his family now and for establishing a family of his own in later years.
2. To help boys and girls appreciate the importance of wholesome human relationships.
3. To give boys and girls a mature knowledge of the human physiology involving sex.
4. To help students in choosing a mate and preparing for marriage.
5. To assist students in developing values as a basis for decision-making.

Teaching Units

I. The Family a basic unit of society
    A. History - types
    B. Parent - child conflict
    C. Improving family relations

II. Maturing
    A. Physical change (male and female - review)
    B. Emotional development
    C. Dating behavior

III. Marriage
    A. Consideration in choosing mate
    B. Readiness for marriage

IV. Reproduction
    A. Science of pregnancy
    B. Birth process - prenatal care

- C. Unwed parents
- D. Birth control
- E. More scientific research

V. Heredity
  - A. Principles and facts
  - B. Superstitions

VI. Sex Involvement
  - A. Normalcy of sexuality
  - B. Fallacies and truths
  - C. Homosexual
  - D. Masturbation

VII. Sex in World Today
  - A. Abuse - promiscuity, illegitimacy, sex diseases
  - B. Control
  - C. Ideals and standards of behavior

SOME ADMINISTRATION AND TEACHING SUGGESTIONS

Whatever ideals may be held up for sex education, they will not always be feasible in every school. And there will be questions of administrative procedure that require answers. One such question has to do with segregation of the sexes. If, as ideally, sex education is planned as an integral part of the curriculum, it will be taught as part of all areas. If, however, it is segregated as part of the - let us say - physical education program in which boys and girls are separated, then, of course, it would have to be so taught. However taught, boys and girls from puberty on should have opportunities for some individual conferences. Even if the sexes are not segregated, junior high school boys and girls should have some periods separated for typically girl - or boy-questions; and, conversely, even if the sexes are segregated, there should be some periods together for discussion of some topics such as, for example, dating and boy-girl questions.

Teaching about sex follows the patterns of all good educational methods. There is no single one way to teach; but the good teacher is sensitive to the needs of the specific class members and develops the program accordingly. The teachable moment affords many opportunities for weaving sex education into the total curriculum and the good teacher seizes and uses them. They occur especially frequently in the elementary school. Thus, for example, the advent of a new baby or new puppies, the discovery of the four-letter words. For older children, the occurrence of words in the mass media such as rape, or abortion laws; items mentioned in history, such as illegitimate sons of rulers, the succession of kings; great literature classics, such as The Scarlet Letter or David Copperfield; even new discoveries in, let us say, genetics, all offer many good teachable moments for the student in more advanced grades if the teacher is willing to seize them.

In addition, good audio-visual materials are now also available. They should not, however, be over-used. Other methods might include, according to age, lectures, small buzz sections, role-playing, dialogue, visits to laboratories, museums, enlistment of resource people, and even research projects.

It goes without saying that encouragement of questions and undismayed replies are important teaching procedures and often produce the teachable moment, especially because for so long questions have been evaded by parents and teachers, discouraging the basic ingredient.

Sex education in the schools is not a panacea for all social ills, nor will facts necessarily motivate improved behavior, but they are essential when such motivation is stimulated. Evaluation of teaching in terms of subject matter acquired is an easy process. This, however, is not the chief objective. Changed and improved attitudes and standards are often needed and are difficult to acquire and to evaluate. If the children and youth in our schools can acquire wholesome sex attitudes in their lives and be freed from the phobias and feeling of vulgarity that sex brings to some children, a degree of success has been achieved. Individual schools may observe the disappearance of toilet markings, passing of pornographic pictures, of little huddles and giggles with lewd jokes. Increased freedom to discuss these subjects, to ask questions using correct terminology may be apparent. Sometimes a former graduate who reports his methods of developing good sex attitudes in his children will document the strength of his sex education learnings.

Sex Education starts at birth and continues until death. No single institution has the total responsibility for this, but an educational plan must be implemented which will give all children and youth factual information combined with socially and morally desirable attitudes, practices and standards. Parents must start when the baby enters his home, but the school must take the children where they are when they come from the home and teach them according to their age, interest and ability, and by a plan or curriculum approved by the Board of Education. The school has the responsibility for planning a progressive curriculum in Sex Education and seeing that it is well taught.

In the last chapter Helen Manley sketched the general body of material which should be included in the education of students from primary grades through high school, emphasizing at the same time that the teacher herself or himself was part of the "curriculum." But the student himself is also part of the teaching situation. The teacher is not interacting with robots. Nothing can be taught or learned if we disregard the human beings involved. In this chapter therefore, we focus attention on the student himself, showing the process of development so that the teacher will always know approximately where he is when she faces him, what he is ready for, what is going on inside his mind and body. It is as much a part of the teacher's training to know the individuals she is confronting as it is to know the material she is presenting to them.

CHAPTER 3

NORMAL SOCIOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

by Carlfred B. Broderick

The sex educator is concerned with at least four questions, no matter what age group he may be dealing with: 1) What is the group's level of information and experience in the area of sex? 2) What are the attitudes of the members toward themselves as sexual beings? 3) What are the attitudes of the members of the group toward the opposite sex as a category of people? And 4) What social skills do the members of the group have (or need) to help them relate to the opposite sex in satisfying and appropriate ways?

Necessarily, the answers to these questions vary from individual to individual and from group to group. But it is still of interest to review the meager store of information that is available on the typical pattern of development in these four areas over the life cycle.

SEX INFORMATION AND EXPERIENCE

The extent of preschool children's knowledge about sex undoubtedly varies enormously, depending upon the attitudes and circumstances of the adults in charge of the child's care during these years. Observations in nursery schools and Head Start programs indicate that many children are interested in the differences between the sexes, both the physical and the behavioral differences. Some children this age are concerned with where babies come from, especially if the birth of a new baby is an important event in their own lives, as it often is at this age. Preschool children rarely appear to be concerned with questions of sexual intercourse or conception unless these matters are brought to their attention by adults or older children.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SELF

Whatever their level of knowledge about sex per se, all children learn attitudes about themselves as sexual beings during these years. Even the parents who never discuss sex as a general topic are forced to deal with sex as a characteristic of the child. The two-year-old who leaves his wet pants at the corner and comes home naked is certain to learn something about his parents' attitudes toward the public exposure of his genitals. The four-year-old who has his hand in his pants when company comes learns something about the subject from the reaction he gets. The child of any age who comes in upon his parent of the opposite sex dressing or bathing or using the toilet, will also learn from the reaction. Obviously, what he learns depends on the reaction, but there is no doubt that he learns something. Multiply these experiences by the number of situations involving sex in one way or another that commonly come up in family living and it can be seen that the chance of avoiding learning in this area is nil. For better or for worse the foundations of the child's basic concept of himself as a sexual being are laid in the often unintentional but powerful teaching that goes on during the preschool period.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE OPPOSITE SEX

It is also generally believed that a child's capacity to relate to the opposite sex in a normal way is largely determined by his experiences during these early years. There are at least three elements involved. First, there is basic identification of himself as a member of his own sex. All future relationships with the opposite sex depend on this as a foundation. Most children achieve this identification fairly smoothly. They are constantly reminded of their sex by adults and other children and are rewarded for being appropriately masculine or feminine as the case might be. In some instances, however, this may be made more difficult by the parents systematically conveying to the child that it would please them more if he or she were of the opposite sex. Studies show that it is also more difficult to identify with one's own sex if the parent of that sex is viewed as so cruel on the one hand or so weak on the other hand, that no one would want to be like him.[1]

The second element is early experience with the opposite sex, especially with the parent of the opposite sex. Presumably, if one's early encounters are rewarding, this paves the way for a trusting, positive attitude toward later persons in this category. On the other hand, studies of homosexuals seem to show that if the cross-sex parent is too seductive or too punishing or too emotionally erratic, it may make heterosexual adjustment more difficult.[2]

A third factor that probably grows out of the first two is the young child's feelings about marriage as an eventual way of life for himself. Children play house from about three years of age on, indicating that they have a fair notion of many of the non-sexual aspects of marriage even at this age. One recent study of this question[3] suggests that five-year-olds have a good idea of the field of eligibles from which they must eventually select a mate (the mate must be outside the immediate family, of the opposite sex and of the same general age). But more to the point, the majority of them are already committed to their own eventual marriage. This majority increases at each age throughout childhood. The significance of this positive attitude toward marriage is underscored by the further finding that achievement of this attitude seems to be almost a prerequisite to further heterosexual progress during the next stage of development.

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[1] For two good reviews of the literature on the family's influence on sexual identification, see Kagan, Jerome, "Acquisition and Significance of Sex Typing and Sex Role Identity," in Review of Child Development Research (Lois W. and Martin Hoffman, Editors) Russell Sage Foundation, N. Y., 1964, Vol. 1, pp. 137-168; and Clausen, John A., "Family Structure, Socialization, and Personality" in Vol. II (1966) pp. 1-54 of the same work.

[2] For a review of this literature see Marmon, Judd, Sexual Inversion, Basic Books, New York, 1965, Chapter 1, and in the same volume, Bieber, Irving, "Clinical Aspects of Male Homosexuality," (Chapter 14, pp. 248-267).

[3] Farrell, Constance B. "Awareness and Attitudes of Preschool Children Toward Heterosexual Social Relationships," Unpublished Master's Thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa., 1966.

SOCIAL SKILLS

At this age there is probably not a great deal of difference in the skills needed to get along with one's own or the opposite sex, although this has not been systematically studied. In any case, the more fundamental challenge for the preschool child is to learn the basic skills for dealing with interpersonal relationships in general. At later ages, more differentiated, specifically heterosexual skills begin to play a bigger role.

MIDDLE CHILDHOOD (6-12)

SEX INFORMATION AND EXPERIENCE

Although to my knowledge there have been no studies on the information or misinformation which children of elementary age have about sex, it seems likely that there is perhaps more variation in sophistication at this than at any other age. The effects of widely divergent parent attitudes toward sex are evident in the conversations of children from kindergarten onward. One rural mother told a parent group recently that while she was in the hospital having a new baby she left her kindergartener in the care of a friend who was about seven months pregnant. The little girl, observing her shape, asked if the baby sitter was going to the hospital soon, too, and was told "not for a couple of months yet." The casual response was "Oh, I guess you were jumped two months later." Granted that her parents might want to spend some time with her on the elements of love and tenderness unique to human mating, one cannot doubt that this young lady had a firm grasp on what are often called "the facts of life."

Contrast this with the experience of another girl of the same age who was staying with her grandmother while her mother had a baby and said to her, "Grandma, I know that babies grow inside of their mothers, but how do they get out?" To which her grandmother replied, "I think it's terrible to fill children's heads with filth like that." The little girl persevered, "But Grandmother, you must know how they get out; you had Mommy." The answer, and this was in the 1960's, not the 1890's was "I found your mother in a cabbage patch and that's where she found you, too. Now let's hear no more about it."

Probably most children are less informed than the first little girl and yet more honestly dealt with than the second little girl. Although there are no statistics on it, it is probably true that the majority of children form some notion of pregnancy and childbirth and of the relation of sexual intercourse to these before they leave elementary school. They learn from parents, from older brothers and sisters, from other children and even, in a growing number of cases, from professional educators in a school or church setting.

On several occasions I have had questions passed in from groups of fifth and sixth graders after viewing a film such as "Boy to Man" or "Girl to Woman."[4] One doesn't know what the questions might have been if the films had not been shown first, but in these circumstances the girls ask questions about menstruation and pregnancy, and often about whether one can get pregnant through any other means than sexual intercourse.

Boys' questions may also touch on pregnancy and intercourse, but in addition they frequently ask for definitions of terms (including slang terms), which they have heard but not understood. In those communities where preadolescent dating occurs, either sex may ask questions on sexual conduct, questions that are more typically encountered at later ages. Not infrequently, there are questions about "the pill," about birth out of wedlock, and about differences in size and shape of genitals (boys) and of figures (girls).

Occasionally a question reminds one that even at these ages some children have experienced sexual exploitation by adults or by older children and others have experimented with sex with children of their own age.

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[4] These films are both produced by Churchill Films, 662 North Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90069 ($90 black and white, $180 color).

Kinsey's data on children's sexual experience is now woefully out of date, since they were collected mostly from adults during the decade of the '40's and describe behavior experienced in the '30 s and earlier. Nevertheless, it is instructive to realize that his sample of males reported that by age 12 about 20% had masturbated, 30% had been involved in homosexual play (mostly handling the other boy's genitals), 40% had experienced heterosexual play (including exhibition and looking, as well as touching) and an estimated 15% had attempted intercourse with a girl.[5] Among the females, about 15% reported they had masturbated, about 20% reported homosexual experience (excluding looking), and about 30% reported heterosexual experience (including looking and exhibition).[6]

No current data are available, but it does seem safe to assume that the current generation are no less experienced than their parents.

ATTITUDES TOWARD SELF

Little is known about how elementary school age children feel about themselves as sexual beings. Lacking any direct data, inferences must be made based on their behavior. The very fact that boys and girls tend to grow apart more and more during these years (reaching a maximum segregation at about age 12) suggests the possibility of role discomfort. It is as though they needed to practice their roles separately before they could perform them in interaction with the opposite sex (4, 6).

Another evidence of growing awareness of sex role expectations is revealed in Kinsey's data. Among girls the active incidence of heterosexual play decreased as puberty approached. The same was true for the boys who eventually went on to college, although not for others. Where the decrease occurs, it seems likely that it is due to an increased awareness of the social significance of sexual behavior by the older children (11, p. 174; 12, p. 111).

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[5] These data and a great deal of additional information are, of course, available in the chapters on Preadolescent Sexual Development in each of the Kinsey volumes (11, 12). For a comprehensive summary of these data, see Broderick's review article, "Sexual Behavior Among Preadolescents" (2).

[6] See Note 5.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE OPPOSITE SEX

In a recent series of studies in Georgia (6), Pennsylvania (3, 4, 7) and Missouri (7, 19), considerable information has been gathered on the process by which attitudes and social involvement with the opposite sex progress, at least from age 10 onward.

It has already been noted that the foundation for further sociosexual development seems to be a positive attitude towards marriage. The exact proportion varies from one part of the country to another, and from one type of community to another, but typically about 55 to 60% of the 10-year-old boys and about 65-70% of the 12-year-old boys, and about 80% of the 10-year-old girls and 90% or more of the 12-year-old girls are sure they want to get married some day. Those that have not come to this conclusion yet tend not to become involved with the opposite sex at all, either in fantasy or in reality during preadolescence. For these children, and only for them, the concept of preadolescence as a period of "sexual latency"[7] has real validity.

Those who do accept marriage as something they want to become involved in themselves, sooner or later take the next step and single out a particular member of the opposite sex as their girl friend or boy friend, as the case may be. As often as not, at the younger ages this chosen sweetheart may never be aware of their selection. The child keeps his choice largely to himself, perhaps sharing his fantasies with one or two close friends. In only about one-fifth of the cases was the choice found to be reciprocated by the sweetheart. Nevertheless, these attachments, as well as crushes on adults, entertainers and others can be seen to have a real function. They provide an opportunity to rehearse intense emotional involvement within the complete safety of one's own imagination. The 11-year-old girl who is smitten by some recording artist or T. V. star or, for that matter, by the boy who sits in the row next to hers in school can role play scenes of great tenderness or esctasy in her own mind without fear of rejection or exploitation or, indeed, consequence of any kind at all. The same is true for the boy. Girls are more likely than boys to have these fantasies, probably because they are more heterosexually oriented than boys at these ages. Typically, about half of the boys and three-fourths of the girls report having a sweetheart of their own age and somewhat smaller percentages report crushes on familiar adults or public figures of various kinds.

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[7] For many years Freud's suggestion that in the years just prior to puberty there was a turning away from all interest in the opposite sex, was widely accepted. In recent years it has become increasingly clear that nothing quite that clear-cut happens for most children.

From these crushes, the next step is to claim to be in love. Adults, of course, smile at the notion of preadolescents claiming to have been in love, and indeed at every age studied from 10 to 17, the young people themselves tend to discount any "loves" previous to the current one. Previous experiences are reclassified as having been only "puppy love" or a "crush." Despite this, at the time it is experienced, "love" seems to have some impact on those involved. Between 40 and 50% of the boys and between 50 and 60% of the girls claim that they are in love sometime between 10 and 12 years of age.

Once this point is reached, there is some evidence that the imagination turns not only to idle romantic fantasies but to more concrete wishes. This is illustrated by the fact that, of the boys who claim they are not in love, only 20% think it would be more fun to go to the movies with a girl than with another boy, but for those who claim to be in love, over 40% would prefer a female companion at the movies.

Finally, the ultimate step in the pyramid would be actually to take a girl out on a date. In some parts of the country it is still very rare for preadolescents to date. In some communities studied the percentage was as low as 5%. In other communities, however, well over half of the 12-year-olds reported having had one or more dates. As in the case of "love," some of these early "dates" may be designated by older children as "not really dates." Even allowing for some redefinition of a date at later ages and for the fact that it is generally several months between dates at these early ages, it remains true that in some communities the more precocious boys and girls may begin to date while in grade school. It is my observation that this pattern is more likely to be found in the South and Pacific Coast states than in the East and Midwest. It is also most likely to be found among the middle classes in urban or suburban areas, and least likely in the rural areas.

SOCIAL SKILLS

At the same time that boys and girls are rehearsing emotional commitment in the safety of their own imaginations, they are liable to be rehearsing some of the social skills which they feel are useful in boy-girl relations. One example is playing kissing games at parties. In a kissing game one has the opportunity to practice an activity important in later boy-girl relations without taking responsibility for choosing one's partner (who is determined by some chance factor), and without risking being rejected, since everyone in the game is committed to abide by the rules. Also, the probabilities of kissing leading to more serious physical or emotional involvement is minimized by the structure of the situation. The incidence of kissing games varied tremendously among the communities studied. In one small town in Missouri, no one had ever played kissing games while in one urban setting in Pennsylvania the large majority of children of these ages had had some experience with them.

Almost the same range of experiences is evident in the case of social dancing. In many communities from coast to coast fifth and sixth grade children in the middle and upper class areas are given formal instruction in social dancing and the etiquette that goes with it. In fact, on the West Coast there are chains of dance studios that cater particularly to this age-group.

I have clippings of newspaper reports of elementary school proms and fancy balls from many parts of the country. Of course, this sort of activity requires parental sponsorship, and therefore in many other communities social dancing does not begin until junior high school or even later.

In view of the extraordinary range of experience and inexperience, involvement and non-involvement, at this age, it is clear that no single curriculum could be expected to meet the needs of every group. Each teacher would have to have some means of determining where the children in his own class actually were with respect to information, experience, and emotional involvement, or he could find his material to be completely inappropriate for his students.

ADOLESCENCE

SEX INFORMATION AND EXPERIENCE

In the period from 7th grade through 12th grade there is a steady shift from an emphasis on questions about menstruation, conception and sexual intercourse to questions about the social relationships between boys and girls and about sexual morals. Girls increasingly want to understand boys' motivations better. Why are they so interested in sex? What will they do and think if she rejects their advances? If she doesn't? What are good ways to cope with boys? As an increasing number have had experience with petting and with sexual intercourse,[8] firsthand or vicariously, more questions are asked on how far you should go under various circumstances. ("Should a Christian girl ever pet?" "Is sex all right if you really love a boy? If not, why not?" "What's wrong if he only does it with his finger?")

Boys are liable to ask similar questions, in some cases challenging the adult world to defend their traditional values and in other cases asking for guidance out of a real poverty of self-direction.

Some educators have observed, however, that the question of standards and values is most urgent at about the 10th grade level in their communities and that beyond that age the young people have apparently made their basic decisions in this area. According to these teachers, by 12th grade the questions are mostly focused upon the psychology of boy-girl relationships rather than upon the specifically sexual aspects.

In the sexual area questions may range from how to achieve sexual adjustment in marriage, to whether a boy ought to marry a girl if he gets her pregnant, to whether frigidity is physical or psychological.

It would seem that the nature of the information needed by adolescents lies primarily in the realm of principles of human interaction and decision making, with some attention also to dynamics of personality. Information gradually becomes less important than meaning. The overriding question of adolescence is "What part ought sex to play in my life now?"

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[8] Recent data on the sexual experience of adolescent boys and girls are lacking. The best we have are the Kinsey data (1949-1953) which are a whole generation old, by now, and the Schofield (1965) (21) study, which is more up to date, but done in England, not the U.S. Based on these sources, it may be said that well over 90% of boys of high school age may have masturbated but only about 25% of the girls have done so. About 80% of both boys and girls have petted by age 18. About half of the boys and about 15% of the girls have had actual sexual intercourse by 18 years of age. Each of these types of activity varies with social class, religious devoutness, race, region and so forth, of course.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SELF

It can be observed that in adolescence there is a close tie between feelings of self esteem and feelings of sexual adequacy. Clinicians frequently find that the boy who is insatiable in his need for sexual conquest is more likely to be motivated by a need for reassurance that he is masculine than by an unmanageable degree of biological sex drive. Similarly, a girl's seducibility may be more a function of her feelings of worth and lovability than of her need for physical stimulation and release.

One recent study[9] attempted to get at young people's feelings about themselves by having them write stories about a cartoon showing a boy and a girl sitting or standing together. Analysis of these stories showed that the boy and girl were most often viewed as being uneasy and at a loss for words. Moreover, contrary to expectations, the older the respondents were, the more prone they were to see the couple as feeling inadequate in this situation. In other words, experience with the opposite sex did not lead to a more comfortable feeling but rather to a sharper awareness of one's own vulnerability. It is probably in this context that going steady should be evaluated; that is, as a strategy for reducing social anxiety and uncertainty. This interpretation is supported by the findings in the same study that the older the respondents were (10-17), the less likely they were to think that one had to be in love to go steady.

ATTITUDES TOWARD OPPOSITE SEX

Like every other society, ours has the problem of maneuvering its young people into marriage. It is interesting to note that we are very successful in doing so. About 94% of our population has married by the age of 40. This is the more remarkable in that, with its emphasis on freedom of choice, our society depends upon the voluntary efforts of its individual members to achieve this goal. As has already been noted, beginning in infancy, there is a progressive series of steps calculated to motivate children to get married someday. In addition to this is a systematic program for involving adolescent boys and girls in each other's social world. Boys are put under considerable pressure to find female companions for various social events and girls are pressured to accept and even to encourage such invitations. Initially, the contract between the boy and girl for these events is limited to enjoying the date itself, but there are powerful forces at work to keep the relationship from stopping there if the first date was a success. For one thing, having to worry about lining up a different girl for each occasion takes energy. This produces a strong motivation for regularizing successful relationships through steady dating or some other similar arrangement. But even beyond this the boy has been taught to press for whatever degree of physical intimacy the girl will allow and the girl has been taught to press for whatever emotional and social commitment she can obtain from the boy. As the relationship develops with these two forces at work, what began as a casual and limited relationship tends almost inevitably either to become more "serious" (that is, involve more intimacy and more commitment) or else to break off altogether.[10]

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[9] These data, based on the study of Pennsylvania youth have not yet been published. However, a manuscript, "The Perceptual Context of Boy-Girl Communication" by C. B. Broderick and Jean Weaver is in preparation, and should find its way into print sometime in 1968.

If this analysis is correct, then adolescents see the opposite sex from two viewpoints. On the one hand they are evaluated as a pool of eligible partners for recreational events. But on the other hand they are also evaluated as candidates for an escalating relationship of increasing intimacy and commitment. There is evidence that whether the former or the latter viewpoint predominates depends upon several factors. First is the length of the relationship itself. The longer a boy and girl go out together the more difficult it is to keep out of the intimacy-commitment spiral. A second factor is the social acceptability of the partners. One study has shown that if the partners are too different in social background or personal values, they tend to get filtered out. (10)

Thirdly, there are circumstantial or feasibility factors. Those who plan to go on to college or who have other firm plans for after high school tend to avoid the spiral, while those who have no such plans tend to move from one level to another until they are married (5, 20).

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[10] For a somewhat fuller discussion of the intimacy-commitment spiral, see Broderick 1967 (5).

At present about half of all girls do get married while they are still in their teens, so that this process runs its full course within the experience of many adolescents.

SOCIAL SKILLS

At this and at subsequent ages, most of the social skills needed in coping with the demands of heterosexual relationships are not very different from those needed in coping with social relationships in general. Probably the key skills that can be taught at this stage are those of self-understanding and sensitivity to others. It is not accidental that nearly all "functional" courses on dating and courtship include material on these important qualities. Various approaches have been used to try to increase people's insight; such as autobiographies, personality inventories, interaction in small groups, personal therapy, etc. Some of these same techniques plus others have also been used to stimulate the understanding of the opposite sex. Although the effectiveness of various approaches has not been adequately evaluated, the widespread recognition of the need for skills in these areas is noteworthy.

Another entirely different type of skill which many family life educators see as important at these ages is contraceptive skill. The question of whether young people should be instructed in the use of effective contraceptives will doubtless be debated for a long time to come, both on moral and practical grounds. If the trend toward general liberalization in our society continues, however, it does seem likely that an increasing majority of adolescents will receive instruction, mostly informal, but also formal, in the various aspects of birth control.

It is probably also true that this generation of teenagers will have available to them more reliable information on effective techniques of sexual stimulation than any previous generation. It is not clear, of course, whether this information will be directly translatable into actual skill; but one presumes that if there is any change from one generation to the other, it is likely to be in the direction of greater competency in this area.

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL - BEFORE MARRIAGE

SEX INFORMATION AND EXPERIENCE

Up through the age of about 17 the majority of young people have at least one important thing in common: school. Beyond that age their life circumstances begin to diverge more and more. A considerable number marry shortly after high school. Of those who do not, some go on to college. Some go into the armed services; some get jobs. Some continue to live at home with their parents and some live away from home, more or less on their own.

In describing the level of sexual experience in these various groups, we are handicapped again by the fact that most of the data are badly out of date. We have no way of knowing whether the same behavior patterns occur today as did 20 or more years ago when some of the key studies were done.

Petting, which of course covers a very wide range of finely graded sexual interactions, is the commonest form of sexual behavior at this age level. There is some evidence that middle and upper class young people are more involved with petting than lower class groups, that steady and engaged couples are more involved than casual couples, and so forth. But the central fact is that this is the most frequent sexual practice for all groups of this age.

As at the younger ages, questions of how far to go in petting become matters not only of moral values but of bargaining between the boy and girl. Indeed there is very little evidence that there are widely accepted values governing progress in petting in our society, except those relating to the intimacy-commitment bargaining cycle. This perhaps explains why the major concerns of this age group tend to focus less upon morals and standards and more upon matters of strategy in boy-girl relations. There is particular concern for the impact of present behavior upon eventual marriage and both boys and girls are concerned with findings that balance of sexual expression and sexual restraint which will lead to the best marital union.

Unfortunately, there is no very convincing scientific evidence which the educator can offer as a guide. There is some evidence that a more conservative approach tends toward a more stable marriage (17, 22), but in the final analysis such choices cannot be determined by research, but must grow out of the individual's own long-range system of values.

The proportion of unmarried youth who have experienced sexual intercourse, also varies from group to group. By age 20, Kinsey found that about 25% of those girls with a high school education or less reported having had coitus and about 20% of those with a college education. By the same age almost 70% of college boys had reported the experience and even larger number of lower class men.[11]

Of course, both Kinsey's studies and others' indicate that at each later age the proportion of unmarried girls who are virgins decreases and, also that the closer to marriage the greater the likelihood of having had coital experience. The best data we have from various studies is that something close to 50% of American women have sexual intercourse before they are married, although most commonly this occurs during engagement with their future husbands (12, pp. 330-1).

In addition to petting and intercourse, it is also true that nearly half of all unmarried women of these ages masturbate from time to time. There is a wide range of individual variations in this practice, but there can be no doubt that for a significant number, this is a major sexual outlet during this period of their lives. Again, there are social class differences in that the better educated groups are somewhat more likely to masturbate than others.

For a more detailed discussion of the level of sexual experience in this life-stage, the reader is directed to the excellent review in Robert Bell's Premarital Sex in a Changing Society (1).

ATTITUDES TOWARD SELF

Even more than in the case of sexual behavior, the range of different attitudes toward one's self at this age becomes so complex that it is difficult to summarize. One factor that probably plays an important part in the single girl's sexual self-image is the fact that by the age of twenty, she is already a part of the unmarried minority. If she is in college, of course, most of the other girls around her are also unmarried, but by 24 most girls of whatever education are aware that the large majority (actually about 85%) of her age group are married. For the girl who is sufficiently far down the commitment funnel, of course, this causes little worry. Similarly, for the girl who does not want to be married for whatever reasons, this is no problem. But for the girl who wants to become married but sees no immediate prospects, this may raise questions in her mind about her own desirability.

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[11] Kinsey's data on lower class men are considered quite unreliable since so many of his cases were prisoners.

Contrary to the popular image of gay bachelorhood, there is a smaller but significant group of males also feeling that they are single not by choice, but through failure to be able to attract a desirable mate. For both of these groups, it must be presumed that this is a period of crisis in their attitudes toward themselves as sexual beings. Unfortunately, the situation is likely to be made worse if, in their loneliness, they turn to masturbation or other forms of sexual activity that in their own eyes are demeaning.

Others, unhappy about their experiences in the currents of the intimacy-commitment spiral may also find reasons to doubt their own worth. But it is probably true that in general, this period of life is more supportive to one's sexual self-image than any other, if only because the process of courtship is, by definition, flattering.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE OPPOSITE SEX

From society's point of view, the most important final goal of male-female relationships is responsible parenthood. In pursuit of that goal, the society has an investment in every potential parent achieving the capacity to relate to the opposite sex with trust and concern for the other's welfare. Nevertheless, man's needs for sexual fulfillment and emotional response and safety are subject to being exploited like any other needs. It would appear that one of the key elements in sociosexual development, then, would be learning to reject relationships based on exploitation and to seek relationships based on mutual concern for the mutual welfare. Some of this process of learning undoubtedly occurs in the growing up process so that whereas certain people avoid exploitation under any circumstances, others would take this as a usual approach to situations. Lester Kirkendall in his book, Premarital Intercourse and Interpersonal Relationships (13) (See also his Chapter 8 (with Libby) in this volume) has traced the process by which many individuals progress from exploitative to supportive relationships with the opposite sex. The process is courtship. Thus, it may be that the almost universal goal of marriage itself is one of the chief factors in the development of positive relationships between the sexes.

SOCIAL SKILLS

The social skills required of this group do not differ materially from those required of adolescents. The substantially greater stability and success of marriage contracted by those 20 and older as compared to those contracted by teenagers[12] does lead to the conclusion that there is a real difference in the level of competency in interpersonal relations between the two groups. Thus, although the demands may be the same, the more mature group appears to have the advantage in achievement.

EARLY IN MARRIAGE

Although it is naively believed by young people that sexual experience automatically assures rather complete understanding in sexual matters, this is patently untrue. According to one study of middle class couples done in 1946 (14), only a little over half found sex mutually satisfying from the beginning of their marriage. After several years only an additional 10% had achieved satisfactory relationships. Rainwater, in a study, reported more fully in Chapter 10, got essentially similar results except that he found that the poverty group were even more likely to find difficulty in achieving satisfactory sexual adjustment than the middle class.

This would seem to indicate that important learning still needs to take place in the sexual area even after marriage, at least for a considerable proportion of the population. A further evidence of this is Kinsey's finding that women's sexual responsiveness increases on the average throughout the first decade of marriage.

Judging from the content of the marriage handbooks designed to smooth the way to more successful sexual relations, the information needed by young married couples is of three types. First, there is a need for an understanding of the erotic potentials of men and women and how to take advantage of them. Secondly, there is a need for some grasp of human relationships and the principle of give and take as they apply to any area of life, including the sexual. And last, but by no means least, there needs to be a positive attitude toward one's own and one's partner's sexuality.

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[12] According to one study (Judson and Mary Landis, Building a Successful Marriage, Englewood, N. J., Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963, p. 129), the percent divorced if both were under 20 years of age is 20.2% compared to 10.0% if both were in the 20 to 25 year bracket.

A number of communities are aiming educational programs at this group (See Chapter 5), although in many cases the sexual adjustment aspect is secondary to education for parenthood. Of course, it is the philosophy of most sex educators that education for sexual adjustment in marriage starts in infancy, but there are at least some promising indications that efforts at the time of marriage can bear fruit.

MIDDLE AGE

It is widely observed that middle age is a difficult period sexually. It is a period of decreasing sexual powers, a period of increasing dissatisfaction with all aspects of marriage including the sexual, a period of generally unflattering physical change. For the woman it is the period when an extra-marital affair is most likely to take place. It is the time of the menopause, with all of the physical and psychological stresses that accompany that important event.

All of these things serve to pinpoint the sexual difficulties of middle age as having mostly to do with self-image and self-confidence. As Melton has pointed out (15), this attitude toward self as a sexual person is not enhanced by the obvious interest and involvement of one's own adolescent children in the area of sexual interaction. Their children's activities and concerns tend to refocus the attention of the parents on their own sex lives. Often the results of this reexamination are not reassuring. Feldman has shown that marital integration, including sexual closeness tends to decrease with the birth of each child (9). In a longitudinal study Pineo has shown that after twenty years of marriage, couples, on the average, reported being less satisfied with every aspect of their marriage, including the sexual aspect (16). Cuber and Harroff find that in their sample of stable upper middle class marriages, only about one-sixth could be rated as "vital" and that about half were dominated by a feeling of mutual antagonism, either passively or actively expressed (8).

Despite all of this gloomy data, I know of few programs aimed at helping this age group achieve a more positive self-image and a more satisfactory heterosexual relationship. Various counseling facilities may be utilized by a few. Some may be influenced by the campaign of medical and mental health groups to revise the public concept of menopause as an end of sexuality. But the majority are untouched by any help in their difficultues. Whatever the reason for this, it seems safe to predict that new programs will develop to meet this need.

OLD AGE

In aging, the problem of waning sexual prowess is matched by the ridicule that many show when asked to consider the sexual life of this group. Unhappily, even medical doctors and persons in the mental health professions may share in this attitude. The writer had occasion recently to lead a discussion of Rubin's excellent book, Sexual Life After Sixty (18) in the staff meeting of a mental health clinic. An onslaught of raucous good-humored comments about how it was certain to be a short meeting (presumably due to lack of content), had to be weathered before the subject could be seriously broached.

It is true that the proportion of men who can achieve intercourse diminishes steadily from about 75% at 60, through 30% at 70 to about 14-20% at 80.[13]

This still leaves a substantial group of older men whose sexual needs and capacities are real and legitimate. In addition, the impotent men may have feelings about their own incapacity which need to be dealt with.

The situation with women is somewhat different in that there is no exact equivalent to impotence in the male. Her own organs may show some deterioration and lack of lubrication, but her sexual activity is more likely to be governed by her husband's desires than her own.

This brings up the question of widows and widowers who are without legitimate sex partners and, for that matter, in a poor position to compete for any sex partners, legitimate or not. But since, unlike any other age group, their unmet sexual needs are seen as ludicrous at best and lascivious at worst, their attempts to meet their affectional needs through remarriage, for example, are met with winks and leers and, often, disapproval.

The problems of aging are many-faceted and our society is just now beginning to respond to the need for sustenance and for medical care. It may yet be a time before serious attention is paid to the serious question of the sexual needs of the elderly.

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5. Broderick, C. B., "Steady Dating, the Beginning of the End." In Farber, S. M. and Civilson, R. H. L. (Eds.), *Teenage Marriage and Divorce*, Berkeley, Calif. Diablo Press, 1967, pp. 21-24.

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Catherine Chilman here emphasizes some of the psychological and social dynamics involved in the interplay between teacher and pupil in sex education.

CHAPTER 4

SOME SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SEX EDUCATION

by Catherine S. Chilman

This paper presents a point of view and some suggestions based on observation, experience, social, psychological, and educational theory, and some collateral research. It is impossible to buttress the suggestions made here with direct research evidence because no research exists as to how information about sex is best imparted, what the content should be, or what the effects of sex education are. Thus, that which follows consists of suggestions, rather than conclusions. For the research-minded reader, many of the suggestions made may be regarded as areas for more definitive study. One of the more important areas would seem to be program research directed toward determining what impact various forms of sex teaching have on the information, attitudes, and behavior of those who participate in sex education courses.

Sex education, as defined here, is education primarily intended as general education as contrasted to education that is specifically planned for students who are preparing for a career in scientific research. For the general student, sex education is seen as focusing on content that will be of potential use to him in his own life as an individual, as a family member, as a participant in the community, and as a member of the work force. Sex education, as discussed in this paper, is considered primarily as that which takes place in a school setting. Many of the suggested principles to be presented might well apply to education in any setting--such as a church, a clinic or a community center. However, the school is the main focus of this discussion.

Having established our framework, let us now consider some of the issues raised by the ambitious, broad-gauged goals of sex education as here defined.

LIMITATIONS ON GOALS

The resistance, fear, anxiety and confusion about sex education is an obvious and often noted stumbling block to the achievement of these goals. There are other blocks that are not consistently recognized. For instance, it is important to realize that education by itself is unlikely to bring about changes in attitudes and behaviors in reference to sex. This is probably true in reference to most subjects taught in the schools but is apt to be particularly true of those subjects which are heavily laden with emotional content and are intimately concerned with basic human drives. Although the schools, alone, cannot be expected to handle such a task, such a duty is sometimes assigned to educators and sometimes assumed by them. Although education is a strong acculturating force, human behavior rests on many factors: cultural, experiential, biological-constitutional, and situational. Attitudes, beliefs, and behavior related to sex are strongly affected in many complex ways by the above factors. Thus, education, no matter how well planned and how expertly transmitted, probably cannot, alone, deeply affect an individual's functioning in this area.

Moreover, many behaviors and feelings which seem to be directly related to confusion, ignorance, or anxiety about sex may have quite different underlying roots. Sex anxiety or deviant behavior can be a displaced symptom of an individual's problem in another area with the major difficulty being based in other than the sexual aspects of the individual's psyche and/or situation. For instance, an individual who has felt that he has been basically deprived of his dependency needs as an infant or small child may compulsively seek to meet these needs through sex activity. Anxiety, hostility, rebellious feelings can stir up apparent sex problems, just as sex-related problems can masquerade as other difficulties--such as a compulsive achievement drive. Thus, educators who seek to single-handedly relieve complex problems of these sorts are usually taking on a problem far beyond the boundaries of what education can be expected to do alone.

Education about sex constitutes only one of a number of ways of helping people to better understand their sex needs and drives and to handle these needs and drives in ways that provide satisfaction to themselves and to the society in which they live. In working toward the achievement of such goals as helping people of all ages to live comfortably and responsibly as sexual beings in today's world, sex educators will most profitably coordinate their efforts with those of other professionals and non-professionals in the formal and informal service and organizational networks of the community.

Some schools, recognizing that student problems, attitudes and behaviors are based on a multiplicity of factors, seek to create a multi-service school system complete with physicians, social workers, psychologists and recreational leaders. While such an approach seems laudable, an argument can be advanced that the school, in developing its own network of services, is creating a separate world of its own rather than interacting with the community.

Other separate service worlds are created, in some instances, such as around health facilities and places of employment. It seems as if a more open educational and service system is needed with the school in closer touch with the larger world rather than in a sub-world of its own. After all, students and their parents live in the larger world.[1]

But beyond this, it is important simply to bear in mind that although sex education is of potential help to many people, alone, it cannot be expected to solve the basic human problems of how to be happy, though civilized.

TAKING ACCOUNT OF INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP DIFFERENCES

It has become trite in the field of education to note that each student and each class is different from every other. If the subject matter is sex, however, certain differences take on added significance, which ought not to be ignored.

INDIVIDUAL LIFE EXPERIENCES

Every person learns a great deal about sex, whether or not he is given specific instruction about it. He has not only gathered up a good deal of information from his family, friends, and other social systems, but learns, as he lives, a great deal about what it means to be either a male or a female. Learning is far more than an accumulation of specific facts that can be repeated and theories that can be reasoned. Human beings learn how to feel and how to behave from the time they are born; they learn through a conscious, rational process and they learn through an unconscious or pre-conscious process of being and reacting.

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[1] It is recognized, however, that in some instances, the larger community does not have needed services available and there are practical problems in securing funding and proper administration of a coordinated approach involving the total community.

In a sex education course, the life experience in a student's own family is apt to be especially crucial to what he learns in the classroom. His attitudes, feelings, experience, and information regarding sex are deeply ingrained within him because much of his learning occurred within the family when he was very young and because much of it has probably been repressed or suppressed, since the primitive sexuality of infancy and early childhood is generally redirected by most parents into more socially acceptable ways. Moreover, the emotional ties, both positive and negative, that he has towards his parents, siblings and others significant to him affect the way he will relate to sex education.

As already suggested, the individual's sex behavior, and feelings are affected by his total personality and functioning. Thus, his total life experience as a person in interaction with his environment are important factors to consider. Interpersonal experiences are apt to be particularly crucial in personality formation. These experiences, besides those within the family, include those in the neighborhood, school, recreational and religious settings.

Some individuals are more apt to act on the basis of factual information than are others. One view of personality typology suggests that individuals might be generally classified into three major behavioral groupings: rational, impulsive and autonomous or anti-authoritarian. In the first instance, the individual tends to seek for facts and reasons and to generally guide his behavior accordingly. The impulsive person is more likely to be unimpressed by facts and to rely more on feelings and intuition. The third type of person values what he can find out for himself and tends to reject other sources of knowledge. It is obvious that sex education, as presented through lectures, book, films, and discussions would tend to make a stronger impact on those persons who are oriented towards rationality than on those who are more strongly oriented towards impulsivity or autonomy.[2] A course in sex education is more likely to have an impact on the rational student who is oriented toward guiding his behavior on the basis of knowledge.

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[2] A briefly condensed statement has been given here regarding the role of individual life experiences in the formation of personality, particularly in relation to sex behavior and attitudes.

Persons preparing to teach in the field of sex education will need at least several basic courses in psychology, particularly developmental psychology and the dynamics of individual behavior. While a full reference bibliography to the dynamics of individual personality development and sex behavior would be far too extensive to present here, a few selected readings are listed below:

THE CURRENT LIFE SITUATION

Each student also brings to a class in sex education the life situation he is in at the moment. Although it seems inadvisable for the educator to address himself to individual living situations in a personal way, it is important for him to be aware of the range of possibilities. For example, students may be living in families in which parents or siblings are involved in sex-related deviant behavior. The student, himself, may be in such a situation. When one is teaching adolescents or young people it is highly possible that one of the students, at least, in a class may be involved in a situation of illegitimate pregnancy. Those persons who are living in socially disorganized neighborhoods may be frequently exposed to a wide range of sexual activities. In teaching, the educator may wish to refer to such situational problems and experiences and refrain from value laden statements about the "rightness or wrongness" of these behaviors. The realistic problems associated with them can be discussed and the community services that are available for assistance may be presented. For instance, it is relevant to discuss various kinds of community services that may be used by unmarried mothers. This

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Mussen, Paul and Conger, John. Child Development and Personality, Harper and Bros., 1956.

Witmer, H. and Kotinsky, R. (eds.). Personality in the Making, Harper and Bros., 1952.

is but another example of the interaction of the educational system with that of other informal and formal systems in a larger society. The sex educator probably needs to know a good deal about his students as individuals and also about the neighborhoods from which they come, the kinds of families in which they live, and the resources within the community.

VARIATIONS IN CULTURAL PATTERNS

The content of sex education, although its focus is objective and impersonal, will, of course vary, depending on the makeup of the group that is to be educated. One of the factors that affect what will be taught and how it will be taught is related to the cultural patterns that group members bring with them. Some of the variations in these patterns are described in the papers in this book by Rainwater, Reiss, and Christensen.[3]

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[3] The subject of cultural differences and their impact on human behavior (including sex behavior) is also a vast one. The sex educator is advised to take relevant courses in sociology and anthropology. Along with the papers presented in this volume by Rainwater and Christensen, the following selected references are given:

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Erikson, E. H. _Childhood and Society_, Norton, 1950.

Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., and Martin, C. E. _Sexual Behavior in the Human Male_, 1948.

Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., Martin, C. E., and Gebbard, P. H. _Sexual Behavior in the Human Female_, Saunders, 1953.

In general, it is important for educators to be sensitive to cultural differences among students. These differences have a particularly deep effect in certain subject matter areas, especially those that are closely related to the student's family. Children and young people usually have been more deeply influenced by their family than by anyone else in reference to their cultural patterns. These patterns include values, goals, attitudes, beliefs and customs. They are generally deeply engrained in the person's life and affect his total style of living. They are not lightly tossed aside, partly because to change one's culture involves changing one's concept of self and belongingness to one's family.

To imply that the cultural values that a student brings to school are inferior or inappropriate would seem to imply deficiencies in him and his parents. Such implication is likely to bring about a conflict of affection and loyalties within the student. Values about sex which are different from those to which the student has been exposed at home or in his neighborhood can be presented as another way of looking at the subject, not as the way, or a better way.

It cannot be assumed that an individual has a certain set of values, customs, and attitudes simply because he belongs to a certain group, since the tapestry of cultures is infinite in variations, and individuals gaze upon it in an infinite number of individual ways. Still there is a tendency for people to hold values and attitudes similar to those in their own national, religious, ethnic, and regional groups.

In the United States, we have a great diversity of cultures and these vary not only in the terms mentioned above, but in terms of the socio-economic level (social class) of the student's family--the occupation, education, and income of his parents. Moreover, there are variations between the sexes in terms of their cultural attitudes in many areas, including those of sex values, behaviors, and attitudes. These inter-sex variations differ by social class, national, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Further understanding about the various cultures that students bring with them to the classroom may be gained by teachers through reading and study; such understanding can be greatly enriched by listening with empathy and sensitivity to what students say, watching what they do, and studying what they write.

Sussman, Marvin B. Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963. See especially Chaps. 4 and 5, pp. 194-284.

PHYSICAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL FACTORS

Each student brings his physical, as well as his cultural and experiential self to the educational setting. His stage of physical development and growth will greatly affect his interests and motivations to learn about sex. Differences in stage of development can be particularly "touchy" for the educator who is working with young people between the ages of 11 and 16, partly because the individuals in the class will be at such a variety of points of growth.[4]

There are also differences of a physical and psychological nature between boys and girls aside from the obvious anatomical ones. To what extent these differences are culturally induced and to what extent they are biologically innate are not clearly known. At any rate, boys in our culture are more apt than girls to be more clearly aware of their specific sex drives and to be more genital in orientation. Girls are more apt to perceive of their sex needs in a diffuse way and to put emphasis on "romantic love" rather than direct sexuality. Generally speaking, girls engage in less direct sex discussion and sex exploration with their peer groups than do boys. Past research indicates that females tend to become aware of their sexuality in its direct manifestations and meaning for themselves through a sex relationship. It appears that they have to be awakened to the physical aspects of sex through experience.

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[4] There are a number of excellent basic text books on child and adolescent development, including a discussion of differences between the sexes. Among them are the following:

Douvan, Elizabeth and Adelson, Joseph. The Adolescent Experience, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966.

Grinder, Robert E. (ed.). Studies in Adolescence, The Macmillan Co., 1963.

Kuhlen, Raymond G. and Thompson, George C. Psychological Studies of Human Development, Appleton Century Crofts, 1963.

Maccoby, Eleanor E. The Development of Sex Differences, Stanford University Press, 1966.

McCandless, Boyd R. Children and Adolescents, New York, 1961.

Mussen, Paul and Conger, John. Child Development and Personality, Harper and Bros., 1956.

Thompson, George. Child Psychology, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962.

The differences in male and female anatomy are held to be largely responsible for the differences in sexual awareness in that the male sex organ is readily stimulated from infancy onward, whereas this is not so likely to happen in the normal course of events for females. It is also quite possible that the relative unawareness of girls and inexperienced young women may be strongly associated with the stronger cultural proscriptions against female sexuality.

Whether or not these male-female differences in relation to sex awareness are culturally or biologically induced, the fact remains that, in our culture,[5] these differences are usually found. Since female sexuality is becoming more overtly accepted in our society in recent years, the two sexes may be increasingly likely to become more similar in their sex attitudes and behaviors.

For those who are engaged in sex education with children and adolescents, it is useful to bear in mind that with the exception noted, girls, on the average, develop more rapidly than boys and are apt to be ready for dating, courtship, and marriage several years earlier than are boys. Although the male sex drive tends to be more overt and direct, the female, on the average, reaches puberty several years earlier than does the male. In terms of social and emotional development, cultural factors, plus earlier maturation, tend to create a higher level of sophistication in interpersonal relationships among girls than among boys of the same age.

Overall differences in rates of human development plus the differential rate generally obtaining between boys and girls helps to create a complex teaching situation for the sex educator dealing with preadolescents and adolescents. Male-female differences have been one of the factors that have prompted some educators to plan separate educational sessions for the two sexes. Such an approach, though it is likely to be simpler and less controversial, hardly seems to be a sound one. Since a basic purpose of sex education is to promote greater understanding and healthier relationships between the sexes and to aid in more effective communication between males and females, sex education which is offered to separate groups would seem to be likely to widen the unfortunate communication and relationship gaps which already tend to exist.

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[5] When the term "our culture" is used here, it refers to the predominantly white, middle-class culture of this country. Minor variations for subcultures in the United States occur. See, also, suggested readings and chapters in this volume by Rainwater, Reiss and Christensen.

Other aspects of the physical characteristics of individual students are important to keep in mind. Among them is the possibility that biological-constitutional differences in people may affect the nature and their perception of their sexuality. This is an area in which research evidence is meager. However, studies are pointing the way to further consideration along these lines. For instance, it has been found that there are great differences in individuals at birth in terms of their response to stimuli and their readiness to form relationships with caretaking personnel. Some infants are passive and slow in tempo and readily take to a dependent, "cuddling" relationship with their parents. Other infants are observed to be aggressive, highly active, and comparatively independent. This is a more complex picture than the one presented here but details are not within the scope of this paper. Of course it should be recalled that the original endowment of infants is greatly altered by the learning experiences that occur throughout life.

Further elaboration of the concept of the intricate and wonderful kaleidoscope of human sexuality may clarify the above discussion. The concept of psychosomatic functioning of human beings is being increasingly explored and more deeply understood: physical, emotional, and intellectual functioning are, indeed, a total, dynamic interaction system. It is well recognized, for instance, that emotional upsets and learned response patterns are very likely to be reflected, in one way or another, in terms of food intake, use, digestion and elimination. It is also well-recognized that emotional disturbances have a variety of effects on the functioning of the heart (including the entire respiratory and cardio-vascular system). The role that individual differences and learned behavior play in the functioning of these systems is less obvious, but further research is likely to reveal intricate associations.

Just as these physiological systems are basic to the life process and therefore engender basic human drives for food and air, so the reproductive system is basic to the life process--perhaps most basic, because it is fundamental to the survival of the race. Being central to survival, sex drives are psychologically, as well as physically central and, just as emotional factors and learned responses affect the intake and use of food and air, so sex and reproductive functioning is psychosomatic in nature. Moreover, it is important to think of the psychosomatic concept as a two-way principle; i.e., somatic (physical) factors affect emotional and intellectual (learning) behavior--and visa versa. For example, a digestive upset of physiological origin clearly affects one's emotional state and motivation and capacity to learn. It also effects one's sex drive and sex responses. Conversely, feelings, attitudes and information can affect many aspects of physical functioning, including capacity for sex arousal and response. The old cliche--which comes first, the chicken or the egg--is most appropriate here and suggests that folklore and proverbs frequently reflect a rich accumulation of intuitive wisdom born of deeply-felt experience.

Another aspect of physical differences relates to specific physical problems that individuals may have and about which they may be fearful and anxious. On the other hand, they may be unaware of physical difficulties. A course in sex education can be of great use in leading students to seek medical help for physical difficulties. The role of the teacher in such instances would be that of referring students to appropriate medical facilities. [See Chapter 17 by John Money for a fuller discussion of the specific needs of persons with various physical handicaps affecting their sexual functioning.]

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLES FOR EDUCATIONAL METHODS

The foregoing section has briefly sketched some of the major ways in which students vary in their needs and capacities. Now it is appropriate to turn to a consideration of how these factors may provide further suggested guidelines for teachers in the area of sex.

SEX EDUCATION AS DISTINCT FROM COUNSELING AND THERAPY

In courses such as family life or sex education, which deal with such emotion laden material, the teacher is often especially tempted to take on the role of counselor or therapist. The temptation becomes particularly strong when students show the need for individual help. There has been a great deal of confusion around this point. An attempt is therefore made here to further clarify the distinction between education and therapy.

Education is addressed to what might be termed the rational, objective, conscious component of the individual's personality. Personal counseling, and more intensively so, therapy, are addressed to the individual in terms of his subjective emotional concerns and unique life experiences and situation. Education seeks to help students plan and behave more effectively because of objective information they have gained; counseling and therapy seek, among other things, to help the emotionally upset person feel better so that he can more readily absorb information and act more in the light of objective facts, less in terms of twisted perceptions induced by confused emotions.

It is highly dubious that sex education would be particularly useful to persons who have deeply neurotic problems and who suffer from strong feelings of anxiety, fear, guilt and self-conflict. For such people, personal counseling or psychotherapy is generally indicated. Sex education may be particularly useful for persons of this kind in opening up a subject matter area that has given them great concern, but which they have not clearly recognized. Teachers who are alert to individual students can provide a highly useful function in helping them recognize the need for personal help and in referring them to such help. This implies that the educator needs to be cognizant of appropriate resources in the school and community.

The educator is also likely to be ineffective in reaching the person who has very poor control over his own behavior. Such persons who "act out" their impulsive drives in a repetitious and anti-social way also are apt to need specialized help from a trained therapist.

It seems essential to clearly differentiate between the roles of the educator, the counselor and the therapist. This is because:

1. The educator is not generally trained to handle deep emotional problems: he should be able to recognize them, keep them in mind while he is teaching, but not open them up for discussion on a personal basis. If the concerns of individuals are discussed in a subjective and particularistic way, it is likely that a great deal of conflict will be activated within the person. The feelings that he arouses are apt to be too complex for the teacher to handle. Of course, such disturbances can also cause repercussions among other students in the group.

2. The situation of education also tends to rule out therapy especially if the school in question is a public school with the announced intention of educating students. Students, their families, and the tax payers are usually committed to education through the schools, not treatment of emotional problems in such

settings. This is the condition under which most schools are founded and supported. A private school is freer to set its own goals and may, more readily, move from the educational to the treatment process. However, if it moves into the area of treatment, this should be made clear to the students and to their families.

3. Another problem that faces the teacher who may get involved in therapy is that if sex education is part of a course it is usually necessary for the teacher to give the students grades, to keep attendance, to be concerned about course credits, and to be accountable to all the students in his classes. One of the essential aspects of counseling and therapy is acceptance of the patient as he is and what concerns him as an individual, with the main focus being on his feelings and his freedom to make plans for himself.

4. The main focus of the educator is on ideas and facts with a primary responsibility to the group of students whom he teaches. The roles of teachers and counselor are different in major focus although the counselor sometimes gives information and the teacher, if he is a good one, is sensitive to the feelings and situation of the individual student.

THE SEARCH FOR VALUES

Some sex educators, particularly those who are strongly oriented towards research and scientific impeccability, favor a "value free" approach to teaching. According to these scholars nothing should be taught that is not backed by research evidence or academically respectable theory. It seems as if this approach is a value in itself. A subject which is as deeply emotional as that of sex and family life would not seem to lend itself well to a completely intellectual approach. The importance of feelings, motivations, and values, as well as of facts, needs to be recognized.

Young people, especially adolescents and youth, are usually hungry for value guides. They frequently want to know "what is the right thing to do." Therefore, it is suggested that the educator may if he wishes present a discussion of his own values, but make clear that they are his own and that the student may freely agree or disagree with his point of view.

In some publications on the subject of sex education, the personal values of the writers are presented as if they were facts. Research evidence is sometimes either misinterpreted by the writer or carefully chosen so as to back up the writer's own point of view. It is important that the teacher recognize biases such as these in publications and also recognize biases in his own thinking. It would seem most appropriate to present values for what they are: culturally and personally induced life styles; not absolute truths based on a careful sifting of research evidence. In this sense, the research-oriented sex educator has a good point when he deplores value-laden teaching.

However, as discussed earlier, students bring deeply engrained values to the classroom with them. They may be unable or unwilling, partly because of their own cultural background to accept new knowledge and attitudes.

Values taught as facts may be seriously misleading and may set up conflicts in individuals, produce guilt, and induce needless fears. For example, it is sometimes written and it is sometimes taught that premarital sex experimentation will eventually create problems later in married life. This is far from being proven clearly. Whether such experimentation it would or would not affect later marital harmony is probably closely associated with the attitudes, beliefs, and situation of the individuals concerned.

In a discussion of values and ethics, the educator may feel under pressure to impart a value system which he, himself, does not wholly accept nor live by. While it may be natural for him to feel pressures of this sort, it would seem not to be advisable for him not to present any views as his own unless he truly accepts them. Students, especially as they grow out of childhood, are quick to note a lack of complete honesty and integrity in their teachers and other adults. Part of the current youth revolt is based on the perceived "phoniness" and hypocrisy of adults. Commonly held social values can be presented as such, without proclaiming them as one's own. Part of the educational process would seem to be a recognition, understanding, and examination of social values, which is not synonomous with their espousal or personal adoption.

Free discussion among students about values can be very useful. This often works most effectively when small groups of not more than seven or eight are used and a direct learning experience is provided as people learn from each other that there are many different ways of looking at the same question. One of the potential uses of the small group is the promotion of communication among people and another may be the development of new cultural patterns through their exploration and acceptance by peer groups. The teacher, who has skills in group leadership and can establish freedom within limits, is likely to find the small group method one of several helpful approaches in sex and family life education.

In order to learn more about the attitudes, interests, and informational levels of a group of students the teacher may find it helpful to use some form of questionnaire at the start of a sex education program. Of course, such a questionnaire is not possible for very young children and difficulties present themselves in the teaching of functional illiterates. Ingenuity is needed to adapt to these situations. For the more usual groups, questionnaires, rather than a verbal discussion, on the part of students is suggested in that one is more likely to get only the more socially acceptable questions and attitudes and hear mainly from the more aggressive, verbose student when reliance is placed only on oral questioning. In order to get a relatively uninhibited set of expressed interests and attitudes it is a good idea to ask for anonymous answers and to make it clear that this is not a test that will be graded. Repeated use of questionnaires and written responses from students can be useful since new questions may develop as the course goes along.

THE TEACHER AS PSEUDO-KIN

A class in sex education is apt to take on many of the aspects of the student's own family; that is, in terms of the student's perception. The teacher may be perceived as a pseudo parent and the classmates as brothers and sisters. This perception is likely to occur in many educational (and other interpersonal) settings, but the subject matter in sex and family life education is likely to intensify family-related feelings. It is important that the teacher be aware of this tendency and realize that emotional reactions, even though repressed, may be at especially high intensity. The educator is not usually trained to deal directly with these feelings, as already noted, but needs to recognize their validity and strength. For instance, some students, with particularly warm feelings for their own parents, may transfer a sense of admiration and devotion to the teacher. Very gratifying to the educator, but not a situation for which he can take full credit. Also the aware and psychologically mature teacher is able not to misuse such student devotion to meet his own needs to feel loved and significant. Personal intimacy between teacher and student carries many dangers for both: such deep, subjective ties belong primarily to the student's family, friends, and--in the event that he needs help with emotional problems--to a professionally trained counselor.

If the student and teacher are not of the same sex, interpersonal relationships may require particularly sensitive handling by the teacher, especially for teachers in this field and especially for teachers who are working with pre-adolescent or adolescent youth.

The family life and sex educator needs insight into his own psychological make-up and emotional needs so that he can handle the subject matter in this field with objectivity, empathy, calmness and honesty. He also needs to be secure in his own feelings about himself, or herself, as an adult male or female human being. If he feels overly anxious about his desirability of competency as a sex partner, guilty about his own sexuality, or hostile towards his own or the opposite sex, these feelings are apt to adversely affect his behavior with his students as well as adversely affect what he teaches. Since students learn from what teachers do as well as by what they say, particularly in terms of the courses under discussion, sex and family life educators need to be either remarkably mature, psychologically strong people, or they may need to secure personal help for their own feelings and attitudes from a trained counselor or therapist.

Students not only tend to transfer affectionate or sexually tinged feelings from family members to teachers, hostile and guilty feelings may also be transferred. It may be useful to bear in mind that, just as the educator cannot take full credit for all the devotion and attraction that may come his way, so he does not need to assume the total burden of dislike, resentment, boredom, and resistance that some students have to offer. These student attitudes are more readily accepted if there is teacher awareness that he is likely to be, in part, a stand-in for a rejecting, nagging, or over-possessive parent. Unlike the parent, the teacher need not and should not, be subjectively involved. If the teacher can help the student keep his hostile feelings under control by giving him firm, mild, consistent discipline mixed with respect and understanding, this is likely to not only aid in the handling of the student's disturbing behavior but may provide him an important learning experience: that interpersonal relationships in a pseudo-family setting can be rewarding--that hostile feelings can be understood and controlled.

The pseudo-familial nature of the class in sex and family life education has many learning experiences to offer, aside from the subject matter itself. Within the limits imposed by the fact that the class is an educational, not a clinical, setting, boys and girls, men and women may learn to relate to each other as valued and valuable human beings: human beings first, male and female human beings second. They may learn to work together through class projects. They can learn together about such subjects as male and female anatomy, reproduction, childbirth, the psycho-social relations between the sexes, and so on. As boys and girls, men and women, learn together through books, lectures, audio-visual aids, discussions, and work projects many fears, anxieties, disturbances, and misinformation about sex and masculinity and femininity are likely to diminish for many.

While such discussions are apt to be more meaningful in an atmosphere of freedom, it is quite possible that such freedom can readily exceed its bounds. A few clearly understood ground rules, spelled out in advance, and repeated, if necessary, are likely to help. Such rules might include the principle that discussions are not to include personal, subjective revelations about the students' or teachers' own specific family life, sex behavior, functioning, fears, fantasies and so on. Learning experiences can be structured so as to keep material of this sort in a more objective framework. For example, a student may ask what he should do about his own desire to have premarital sex relations. This can easily be put into a more general focus by commenting that this is a concern of many young people and that answers cannot be given in reference to particular individuals because each individual has his own set of circumstances and experiences. The discussion can then go on to a general presentation of pros and cons around this question. [See Chapter 9.]

In the use of small group discussions or buzz sessions the subject matter can be structured by the teacher so that a topic, rather than personal revelations, are discussed. The same kind of general framework is suggested for role playing--a device often used--and with seemingly excellent results, if the teacher is aware of sensitive areas and of the subjective material that may be overly revealed. Interest in group therapy, group dynamics, and sensitivity training has prompted some educators to experiment with devices such as role playing, psychodramas and buzz sessions. These devices can be used by the educator who is well acquainted with the students he is teaching and who is well trained in the complexities of human personality and the structure and functioning of small groups.[7]

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[7] The use of a variety of teaching techniques with small groups is based on a large body of research and theory in the social and behavioral sciences. The sex educator will probably find it useful to take related courses in such fields as social psychology. A few references are given here:

Bonner, Herbert. Group Dynamics, Principles, and Applications, Ronald Press, 1959.

THE TOTAL SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The important impact of the total environment on human behavior, interests, and attitudes has already been stressed. In translating this concept into methods of sex education, it is helpful to consider the total school environment as a living laboratory. One major goal of sex education is that of helping members of both sexes to feel at ease in their everyday relationships with each other. Open communications, shared interests and activities, attitudes of trust and respect: these qualities are associated with wise mate selection, marital satisfaction, and stability, and sexual gratification within marriage.[8] Boys and

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Cartwright, D. and Zender, A. Group Dynamics, Row, Peterson and Co., 1960, (2nd ed.).

Coyle, Grace and Hartford, M. E. Social Process, Council on Social Work Ed., 1958.

Foote, N. N. and Cottrell, L. S. Identity and Interpersonal Competence, University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Hare, H. P., Borgotta, E. F., and Bales, R. F. Small Groups, Studies in Social Interaction, Knoff, 1955.

Lindzey, G. (ed.). Handbook of Social Psychology, Addison-Wesley, 1954.

Stock, Dorothy and Thelen, Herbert A. Emotional Dynamics and Group Culture, National Training Laboratories, New York University Press, 1958.

Swanson, Newcomb and Hartley (ed.). Readings in Social Psychology, Hensey Holt, 1952.

[8] See for example,

Rainwater, Lee. Family Design, Aldine Publishing Co., 1965.

Kamorovsky, Mirra. Blue Collar Marriage, Random House, 1964.

Burgess, Ernest W. and Cottrell, Leonard S. Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage, Prentice Hall, 1939.

Terman, L. M. Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness, McGraw-Hill Co., 1938.

girls, men and women are more likely to learn some of these skills in an educational setting if the total environment--classroom, playground, lunch room, "outside activities"--are structured in such a way as to provide opportunities for the two sexes to talk, work, and play together in an atmosphere of positive acceptance of individual likeness and differences. This basic principle applies equally to administrators, faculty members, and students.

In some schools, customs have developed of staging competitions between boys and girls. It would seem wise to avoid such practices because one goal is to help the sexes interact harmoniously rather than against each other.

FREQUENT EVALUATIONS BY STUDENTS

The author has found it useful to arrange for frequent anonymous, written student evaluations of course content and methods while the course is in process so that it is possible to learn more about how the students perceive the strength and weaknesses of what is being offered to, and asked of, them. An evaluation at the end of a sex education program is not particularly helpful in reference to serving the group at hand. It may also not have particular meaning for teaching another group since the next one might be quite different from the first. Since groups almost always contain a variety of individuals it is hardly possible that all students would be equally satisfied or euqally dissatisfied with an educational program. As commented earlier, each person brings with him his own particular style of functioning and style of learning so that an educational program will be perceived differently by different individuals. In working with groups the educator can hope to be "successful" only with a portion of the group. If the educator appears to be meeting the needs of the majority, this is the best that he can probably ask.

TEST OF KNOWLEDGE

Since the topic of sex is so laden with emotion and confusion, it is quite likely that students will perceive in very different ways what has been presented in a course. Some may even become more confused than they were in the first place because of the particular blocks they bring to learning in this particular area. Therefore, well devised tests that seek to identify points of student confusion would seem to be important. Problems arise for the teacher who is within a formal educational setting and who, therefore, probably has to give each student a grade. Graded tests may induce an extra anxiety note that may cloud the picture in terms of what students understand. Therefore it is probably wise to give both graded and ungraded tests in an attempt to eliminate or reduce this factor.

TEACHING STYLE

Sex educators, like other educators, tend to favor a particular teaching style. Some lean toward the lecture, some toward free discussion, some toward visual aids, some toward student projects, and some toward other devices such as the use of role playing and problem solving. Since there is such variation in individual personality, levels of intelligence, and learning styles it is likely that these different methods have different values to different students. An experimental approach seems to be called for, which may be aided by the student evaluations and tests referred to above. However, it is found that a teacher needs to be true to his own style and to feel at ease with himself in relation to the educational methods he is using. This is one reason that student evaluations may be used as but one guide in course content and teaching method.

INVOLVEMENT OF PARENTS AND THE COMMUNITY

This topic is handled in considerable detail elsewhere in this volume (see particularly, Manley, Chapter 3 and Chapter 5 by Esther Middlewood). Therefore, only passing reference will be made here to the importance of involving the parents, school administrators, faculty members and opinion-makers in the community in sex education programs. This may be particularly true when new programs are in the pre-launching stage. Since sex education is often a new program in a community; since sex values and beliefs are rapidly changing; since parents and other adults, like students, bring the complexities of their total life experiences and cultural patterns to the topic; since the proposed program is almost sure to set up anxieties and misperceptions on the part of some people: because of all of these factors are likely to be operating, an orientation program for the relevant adults would seem to be in order. Such a program might include an overview of the proposed course content and teaching methods. Such an overview can be reassuring in that fantasies about what is involved in sex education are apt to be far more lurid than the actual fact of the matter. A side benefit may be providing adults with new information and attitudes that are important to them in their own lives, as individuals as well as parents.

Along these lines, continuing courses in sex education for adults may be extremely helpful to them in their own daily lives. Many did not receive such education when they were younger, new information is steadily emerging and new issues arise for men and women as they reach different stages in their own growth and development.

THE PLACE OF SEX EDUCATION IN THE CURRICULUM

There is a great deal of confusion as to "where sex education belongs in the curriculum." This is something like the weather; that is, everybody complains about it but almost nobody does anything about it. While the arguments go on as to where it should be in the curriculum, it is likely to end up nowhere. If one had an ideal situation, sex education would occur in the many courses in which the subject naturally would come up, such as English, History, Biology, Social Studies, Art, etc. and would be offered by both men and women teachers. Since sex is a pervasive and natural part of life, it probably should be treated as such. However, we are a very way from having a general acceptance by schools and by citizens as to the naturalness of sex and its relationship to most subject matter. Given the situation as it is now, it is likely that special courses in sex education are needed at the various educational levels in the schools and that they may be taught by persons particularly prepared for this teaching. Since this is a new subject for most schools and since very few people have training for teaching in it, it is probable that at the present time sex education will take place in that place in the curriculum in which a teacher is available who is prepared to teach this material and wishes to. Thus, where the course belongs in the curriculum would seem to depend mostly on school and community attitudes towards where such a course is appropriate and on teaching faculty available.

There are also suggestions that sex and family life education courses should be lifted from the regular curriculum and offered in a series of meetings as a non-credit course. One of the reasons for this suggestion is that in a course that seeks to help students with the problems of their everyday lives there can be considerable confusion as to whether the teacher is primarily an enabling leader or a functioning part of an educational system. This issue can be particularly acute when the teacher is called upon to grade students, check their attendance, set standards for classroom behavior and discipline refractory individuals.

There are sound arguments for and against offering sex and family life education as a non-credit course. One of the arguments against such a move is that the students who are most in need of a course of this kind might be the ones who would be the least likely to be involved in it if it did not offer credit. If a teacher can be clear with himself and his students that he has concern for them as individuals, that his liking and respect for them is basic and is not altered by how well the student behaves in class or how well he does on tests, then the more formal and structured side of a course may not need to interfere with its other more human aspect. In a sense, it can be constructive for students in a sex education program to learn that they are free to feel as they wish and to inquire as they wish but that at the same time their behavior must be kept within limits and must conform to certain standards. In society, there will always be standards and limits in reference to sex behavior.

SUMMARY

Some suggested basic principles for sex education to help students with their own lives have been presented here; they derive, largely, from related educational, social and psychological research and theory and from the author's experience as a teacher and counselor in the field. Whether or not these suggested principles are sound awaits evaluative studies of operating programs.

Since sex education seeks to affect a fundamental and complex aspect of human behavior, it probably should be based on an understanding of the multiple roots of human behavior and of the society in which such behavior occurs. Since education constitutes only one way of affecting human behavior, sex educators would be well-advised to coordinate their efforts with other service professions in the community: medical, social work, and religious personnel. Since sex education is particularly likely to deal with deep-seated, highly personal feelings and needs of individuals, teachers and counselors in this field presumably should be particularly sensitive to individual differences of students in respect to their cultural backgrounds, their life experiences and current situation, and their physical development. Since a class in sex education may be especially apt to carry with it social and psychological undertones of the family group, the sex educator would probably benefit from considerable awareness of the individual and group dynamics with which he is likely to be dealing. He, also, is likely to need considerably psychological maturity in order to handle his own role in the situation as an objective leader aware of, but able to control, his own subjective feelings. It would seem to be desirable for the sex educator to make a clear differentiation in his mind as to the separate, but related, functions of education and therapy and not try to carry out both functions, himself. Rather he might better be aware of particular problems of students and be ready and able to refer serious difficulties to appropriate medical and counseling personnel.

It is likely that sex education would be particularly effective if it were carried out in a democratic atmosphere, in which open communication between the sexes is fostered and in which each individual is given an equal sense of identity and self-worth, first as a person, and second, as a male or a female.

Sex education is a relatively new, experimental field. As educators embark upon it, they are likely to find it a challenge to their ingenuity and their own capacity to learn and to grow.

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3. Duane, Michael. "Sex Education--A Small Experiment," *Family Planning*, July, 1962, (reprints available from SIECUS, 1855 Broadway, N. Y., 10023).

4. Gendel, Evalyn S., M. D. "Sex Education Patterns and Professional Responsibility," *Southern Medical Journal*, 1966. (reprints available from SIECUS, 1855 Broadway, N. Y., 10023).

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12. Southard, Helen. "The Revolution in Sex Education--What Schools Can Do." Teaching and Learning, 1967. (Reprints available from SIECUS, 1855 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 10023).

A very large part of the present volume is beamed at teachers who will be performing their teaching function in a school setting. It offers the kind of knowledge they will need facing youngsters in a classroom. But no one imagines that this channel is the only one. A large audience has to be reached outside the school. For their benefit, the following paper presents materials showing how sex education in a wider community setting can be implemented

CHAPTER 5

SEX EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY

by Esther Middlewood

The word "education" automatically suggests "school" to most persons, but it is probably true that the schools provide the smallest and least significant part of the lifetime educational experiences of anyone. Family, friends, work and leisure experiences, church, the mass media and the community at large begin an individual's education before he goes to school and continue it long after he graduates, and in no field is this more true than in the field of human sexuality.

Among the many types of non-school learning and teaching experiences which have an influence on sexual attitudes and understanding, this chapter will confine itself to more or less formal programs systematically presented through the mass media and through various community organizations. Unfortunately even this restricted goal must be further restricted by the lack of any research as to the incidence and consequences of programs of this type throughout the country. This chapter, then, is based upon the personal observation and experience of the author, augmented by a scattering of reports of other programs which are available to her.

THE RANGE OF APPROACHES AND PROGRAMS

THE USES OF THE MASS MEDIA

In any educational program, when one wishes to reach a large number of people, he thinks of the mass media: the newspapers, national magazines, radio, and television. The limitation of these as educational tools is that typically they do not provide for give and take or personal involvement on the part of the target person. Experience has shown that, especially in areas with emotional content some type of personal involvement is a vital factor in influencing a change of attitudes. Nevertheless, the power of the mass media should not be underestimated.

An article in color in LIFE Magazine on the development of the human fetus has impact. The problem is that the significance of the impact is not clear. Many were engrossed and learned much. Some were repulsed and probably had negative feelings reinforced. However, some of those who could not accept this material through mass media alone, would have been able to profit greatly had they had the same material coupled with an opportunity to discuss the material in a small group and within a comfortable setting.

It is sometimes possible to combine this mass approach with more intimate experiences. In one community the radio sponsored a program during which time telephone calls were accepted at the radio station for subsequent reply. Questions dealt with the problems of youth. Most of the calls concerned problems relating to sex information and sexual behavior. The need for greater understanding was apparent. As the result of the program, the health department of the county was asked to cooperate in designing and expediting a program which would help as many people as possible.

Forty persons were contacted through the public health nurse of the county and agreed to assist in carrying out a community experiment. They met at the health department for six training sessions. They studied patterns of psychosexual maturation, the self-concept in sex expressions, biologic information to children at appropriate ages and the social-sexual expectations imposed upon youth with today's resultant confusion. They also reviewed the relationships of early sex patterns, the incest temptations and taboos which made it difficult to manage the directions given to youth by their parents. They read available material so they could lead discussions with a sense of confidence. They also studied group involvement and group dynamics to aid them in the task of leadership with other groups.

THE NEED FOR COMMUNITY EFFORTS

It is the natural history of most community efforts, of whatever kind, to grow out of a felt need of the people--a recognition of inadequate information in a vital area. Certainly this has been the case with adult sex education programs throughout the country. Although there have been various national movements to interest people in the subject, it seems that these efforts succeed only in those cases where the community itself has already sensed the need.

As in many other areas, however, the need does not inevitably produce the remedy and the history of local efforts is a mixture of moving successes, dismal failures, and the whole range of intermediate experiences. One significant factor in success or failure is the source of information that is sought. Many sex educators are self-appointed, poorly trained and attitudinally biased to a serious degree.

A doctor is not necessarily a qualified teacher of sex, nor is a pastor. The former may have a knowledge of the physiology of sex but no understanding of sex roles, value systems, or total personal involvement. A pastor may have some understanding of the morality of sex and personal involvement, but be utterly lacking in current social attitudes and pressures. Neither may have the ability to teach. Either may acquire further training in the areas of his own incompetence as he moves into this new experience, but this does not happen by chance. Training is essential if a community plans to utilize the large spectrum of potential lay leadership in a community for sex education programs.

In addition to the question of source of information, there is also the question of organization and follow-through. All too often sex education for adults is a matter of a single lecture by a local doctor sponsored by the church or PTA or a Child Study Group. Although one cannot discount the possibility that such programs can have good effects, it seems doubtful that the consequences of any one-shot approach can be very far reaching.

The purpose of this chapter will be to explore and evaluate the array of approaches and resources that have been used in various communities.

THE RANGE OF APPROACHES AND PROGRAMS

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Each leader was then asked to invite from ten to fifteen persons in her own neighborhood to join her for coffee in her home while the group listened to a series of radio broadcasts presented weekly by the local radio station. After listening to each program, the group carried on a discussion of the material presented. It was led by a trained lay leader. In the afternoon, following each morning presentation, the leaders convened to discuss problems which emerged in the home groups, or the "listening posts," as they were called.

A very successful program was carried on in St. Louis, Missouri, utilizing the mass media, Dr. B. G. Glassberg conducted a series of radio programs dealing with sex. During the program, anyone was able to call in and ask questions which were to be answered by him at a later time in the program. He presented a topic during the first ten to fifteen minutes of the program and then answered questions during the latter part of the hour. The program is reported to have been an extremely frank and honest appraisal of the problems presented and was unusually helpful to people who inquired. It was also apparent that much of the information which was telephoned to Dr. Glassberg would be of interest to many other persons. There is always the question as to whether such public questions are really the concern of large numbers of people, or whether they might be biased by those individuals who are prone to ask startling questions and questions which are rather difficult to answer, simply to provoke a difficult situation. It is the feeling of those leaders involved, however, that such a program does afford an excellent opportunity to help people obtain the answers to questions which would be difficult for them to obtain in any other way.

Another form of the use of mass media was found in the Michigan Child Study Program, which this year focused upon sex education for the family. A leadership guide for each topic was developed by a study group with consultative services of specialists. Such topics as: (1) What sex information children need, (2) Marriage is more than a contract, (3) Sex problems of youth, and others were developed with outlines for study, reference material and suggested resources. Study groups in the community could then develop the program material as they wished in the local organization.

In scanning the material, it was very apparent that the quality of the study guide was dependent upon the nature and the quality of the consultant service and subsequent application of his counsel. In one instance, it was very apparent that the consultant was directing the discussion in an extremely moralistic, inhibiting and controlling manner. Many of the comments were of a platitudinal nature and reflected cliches which have been applied to marriage relations for far too many years and have little significance to youth involved in "today's living."

One would also question whether or not such topics can be adequately handled in a general discussion group, without a leader, who can bring to bear upon the discussion a wider range of information than the casual member of an existing club. There is no reason, however, why the individual clubs could not call upon specialists to sit in their discussion groups if they found they need additional information. It is not known how successfully these groups handle the topics. It is known, however, that in many instances they did call upon resource persons who were available to them. This form of sex education has been widely accepted through study guides for church groups, Parent-Teacher Association groups, Child Study groups, and other formally organized parent study groups. Usually, however, the material has to do with the teaching of sex to children rather than, as in the instance of the current year, primarily to adult members of the family.

In all of these cases it is clear that the impact of the mass media was vastly augmented by the use of organized small group discussions as a follow-up.

INSTITUTIONALLY CENTERED PROGRAMS

Different from most community programs are those sponsored by public and private funds which have permanent facilities and staffs. In addition to such special emphasis organizations as Planned Parenthood and the various religious denominational programs, there are a few communities with institutions devoted to sex education as a major aim. Three outstanding examples are the Merrill-Palmer Institute in Detroit, the Cleveland Health Museum, and the Flint, Michigan Program (sponsored by the Claire Elizabeth Fund). The latter will serve as an example of this type of program.

The Flint Program was sponsored through a local trust fund and emanated from a program for maternal health, which was the initial purpose of the Claire Elizabeth Organization. The program in sex education was developed by Dr. David Treat and involved both children and parents. The pattern has been emulated by many communities throughout the United States. The general nature of the program was one in which the parents and children were brought together to hear a lecture on sex information in which the Dickinson models were used to explain the biological processes. Later, films were included in the sex education sessions. The program has been written up in great detail many times (1) and undoubtedly it is not unfamiliar to those who are interested in the broad field of sex education.

. As with any program, this one has many strengths, but also raises some questions. Insofar as parent education is concerned, the program would seem excellent. However, it appears to this author to be unreasonable to insist that children should be taken out of school to a central location in a community for sex learning. Many times, they were bussed for long distances to appear in a rather unnatural setting to learn about sex, when they learn about all other forms of life and other scientific information in the schoolroom.

On the positive side the program has the distinct advantage that the parents know exactly what has been presented to the children. The feeling seems to be that the communication between the child and parent is improved if both have the same information. Whether this is outweighed by the awkwardness and remoteness of the centralized meeting design, the sizes of the groups and the inhibiting effects on learning by trying to involve children and adults at the same level is a question raised by many educators. It is the author's view that the adults need to be more involved than the children. The facts they need to know may be beyond the interest and need of children at most age levels. They also need to delve into their own feelings apart from children. Children, too, have needs peculiar to themselves which need not be initially shared with parents. Parents need their own opportunity for learning, but not with their children. Their primary need is to have knowledge and skills which will enable them to keep avenues of communication open between them and their children as the occasion is presented.

But whatever the strengths and weaknesses of this particular program, it, and the other pioneer efforts prove the feasibility of a systematic institutional approach and provide others with the opportunity to learn from their mistakes as well as from their unquestioned achievements.

In all fairness to the Flint program, it also must be indicated that the community itself has responded to the stimulus provided by the program and has developed a very inclusive program for children within the public schools. In addition, the portion of the program which had to do with the young married and the premarried has continued and is of excellent quality. There probably are few communities where as much intensive work is being done as in this community, largely as a result of this concentrated effort by a single, well-endowed institution.

A COMMUNITY-WIDE APPROACH

Although it is desirable to have substantial private or public funds behind any ambitious adult education program it is not necessary. What is necessary is dynamic local leadership combined with competent professional consultation. The success of the Kelso, Washington program (2) illustrates the point.

In this instance, one person, a member of the County Medical Auxiliary, asked for assistance from SIECUS in initiating a program. Dr. Calderone, Executive Secretary of SIECUS, not only agreed to visit, but recommended as one device particularly useful in enlisting the support of community leaders that they use Sex Morality Teaching Record Kit ($10.00).[1]

The first meeting at the local level was called in the home of a community leader. Included were the superintendents of the public schools of Longview and Kelso, the president of Lower Columbia College, Parent-Teacher Association groups, the County Ministerial Association, the Guidance Center, the County Medical Associations, and the Medical Auxiliary, the organizing agency.

Although the group recognized that the schools were teaching reliably about reproduction, they agreed that there was need of an expansion of the program to include discussions about attitudes and values relating to sex. It was further agreed that the only way to facilitate such progression would be to educate the adults as well as children. Other immediate steps were advocated:

1. An opportunity for teachers to learn.
2. Discussion groups to be established for parents.
3. A community council to coordinate the sex education activities.

Added to those recommendations, Dr. Calderone suggested that more men be informed and involved; that orientation meetings be held for high school and college students; and that an outside person be brought in to talk to the youth.

Much of this has now been accomplished and the community looks ahead to greater growth in 1967. They plan a materials center for teaching family life education, an annotated bibliography of reading material, and a demonstration workshop to be held in Longview. The citizens are concerned--but more than concern, they are acquiring the knowledge to design and expedite a sound locally fixed program.

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[1] Prepared by Helen F. Southard, of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., (600 Lexington Avenue, N. Y. 10022).

Some communities have achieved success even without publicity and without such vigorous and resourceful outside help. In one suburban setting (3), the schools had for many years, had a curriculum in reproduction and sex hygiene at fifth and sixth grade level, ninth and twelfth grade level, and parent education. Parents had been supportive of the program, but felt it left much to be desired. Consequently, they suggested that the school examine its program. The task was assigned to a committee under the auspices of the school nursing office. They in turn involved a few classroom teachers and junior high school principals, after they had determined that junior high schools should be the target for the expanded program.

They have been working throughout the summer on reviewing materials, designing curriculum and now are planning for a four-day training workshop for the teachers involved. The program will be instituted in the Fall of 1967 and a new working committee will be established to assess the elementary school and secondary school involvement. All of this is being accomplished without city-wide meetings or publicity of any sort. The parents have been involved for at least two years, so there is little other than parental support needed. Local professionals extraneous to the education professionals have been involved as resource persons and consultants, as have consultants from the state level.

A Contrast in Two Communities. It might be helpful to look at the progression of events that lead to action regarding sex education in two communities where approaches afford some contrast for study (4).

In one instance, a physical education instructor and a health educator with a special interest in venereal disease control, both functioning at the college level, took the initiative: They conferred with a member of the continuing education staff of the university involved. A committee of interested college personnel was called together and decided to include some delegates from area schools and social agencies. The name was changed from committee to council because it was the consensus that "council" defined the function more precisely.

The council met monthly for a period of time and finally decided to have a two-day session for school principals, health educators, and physical education instructors. At this meeting an outside speaker was brought in to widen the scope of the thinking. Rather than focusing on sex education, they began to look at the more inclusive topic of family life education. The scope of the concern grew and the local council of churches, medical society, and other social agencies were involved in a two day county-wide meeting on "Sex," at which time outside resource help was used. On the two appointed days, there were massed student meetings, a P.T.A. sponsored meeting for the general teachers' meeting and a council of churches meeting.

Since many individual school systems within the county were involved, each was allowed to carry back to his own community any part or all of the experience to the local community. In at least four instances some forward action has occurred and in two there has been difficulty. An assessment will have to be made later to determine the effectiveness of this approach. It is noted that:

1. The initiative came from sources extraneous to the schools, themselves.

2. The energy was exerted from the pinnacle of the pyramid to the base.

3. It may be there was not enough awareness of historical design.

4. Consultant services were available.

5. There is no mention of adult education development other than mass meetings. One might look for changes in adult education listings, development of parent education opportunities, improved involvement of social agencies in their own programs of adult sex education, etc.

In contrast to the foregoing design is one that provides less opportunity for general social awareness, but which may afford the basis for sturdier growth. In another urban community of comparable size but within one school system rather than a county unit, the problem of better sex education arose. For many years the school had arranged to have local physicians speak to the eleventh grade boys and girls, three sessions each. Both the school superintendent and the doctors knew that this was "too little" and "too late." Classroom teachers met with the physicians and in lieu of a better plan, at the moment, they decided to continue to use the physicians but designed classes for tenth and eighth grades. Understanding that this was an expedient decision, they also hired a family life specialist to assess the overall program and set up a progressing pattern for the future.

Immediately, a committee was called by the family life specialist. It included in-school membership and some community members as consultants--doctors, school nurse, a few parents, a minister, etc. They included elementary teachers, junior high teachers, senior high school teachers and those concerned about community education. They saw K through adult as their area of concern. They did not include adults simply to support an in-school program, but because they saw a bonafide adult need for greater knowledge about sex and sexuality.

Based upon the responses to questionnaires presented to seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, and one presented to fifth and sixth grades in twenty of the elementary schools, the committee began to design a pattern for the school program.

The results have been varied and interesting. The growth is slower initially, but it is firmer. That school system has now added an assistant director of family life education and has developed a good program of in-service training.

There have been several two-day workshops for ancillary personnel, so that all individuals used in any way in the school and community program are cognizant of goals, materials, precautions, etc. Teachers receive in-service training in their regular twelve session self-improvement training program in which all teachers are involved.

In this program there are some obvious directions:

1. The initiating energy came from within the school.

2. The community resources were involved but could not impose their views.

3. The development has constantly been toward a program of K through adults.with the school assuming responsibility now for pre-school and adult.

4. The energy moves from the base of the triangle to the apex.

5. There are no public meetings other than at points of actual need. For instance this year eight hundred students in one school will be brought in under the program--all in groups of thirty or smaller. But, the parent group initially will be large. The purpose of the large group is simply to inform and answer questions.

THE CHURCH

When one thinks of the community and sex education programs; one must be cognizant of the work which is being done in relation to on-going church organizations. The Methodist Conference on the Family, held in Chicago, 1967, is a good illustration of the energy which is being expended in such programs by the organized church. The Cana Conference of the Catholic Church, of Father Umbiorsky's design, is another attempt to meet the needs of people within the framework of a given religious philosophy. Whatever our feelings are, in regard to religion and sex information, it is apparent that no matter what kind of factual information is presented about sex, the individual must assess such information in relation to the philosophical framework within which he hopes to function. Therefore, the church affords an excellent opportunity, if they will present a program which is sufficiently well founded on factual information regarding current practice, current concepts, sociological research, knowledge of personality, etc. The day is long past when we can hide behind a framework of moralization which is not founded upon honest inquiry. Both of the aforementioned programs have made serious attempts to attack the problem of sex information-giving as well as sex instruction designed to help those individuals who find themselves in difficulties in the sexual area of their lives. Other of the larger churches of our nation, such as the Unitarian Church and the Episcopalian Church have designed forward-looking programs which include direction of their members in this area.

There are some arguments in favor of persons obtaining sex information from the church itself. Especially this is true in relation to parents who are going to help train their children, and youth, who are trying to establish their value systems, and certainly couples who plan to be married in the church and who plan to adapt their life to the general philosophy of the church to which they belong. There is a homogeneity which enables them to assess sexual practice and sexual concern in the light of their philosophy, and perhaps it is more helpful to them than simply giving them a sociological description of sex as it appears in today's practice. Granted, one must know what is occurring in sexual practice in order to assess it within a religious framework, but perhaps this is one of the areas in which there is more opportunity for the individual, be he parent or youth, to make a personal assessment of information received.

Many churches have done an excellent job in sex education within the framework of the youth programs of their church. As a matter of fact, in the United Church of Christ study guides for youth programs, a great deal of attention is given to not only family life education, but to sex information specifically. In one community (5) the junior high youth was organized for a period of six weeks in which they had an opportunity to discuss the sex information contained in study materials.

The parents were first called together for two meetings in which they reviewed the materials and the general information which was to be presented to the young people. Subsequently, the youth studied such topics as the meaning and significance of adolescence, body changes in adolescence, sex information, reproduction, and finally the personal assessments of sex from the youths' viewpoint. The questions were answered honestly. Boys and girls met together in these groups, and at the last meetings the youths had an opportunity to ask any questions which they wished from a panel of persons who were eminently qualified to reply. Those persons included a psychologist, a physician, and young college students who could give answers to some of the questions the young people asked about current sex activity and practice. Such programs are not unusual but they do vary a great deal in the kind of material presented. One senior high group completely rejected the pattern because the material presented by the minister was platitudinal, exhortative, and had little to do with the reality of sex involvement as they saw it. It is imperative that we reply with the greatest degree of honesty to the questions which are advanced by youth if we would have them adhere to any of the ethical values which church groups obviously hope will become a part of their experience. We still have much to learn about the best methods of teaching, how to present material, etc.

An excitingly new approach is currently being planned for the subteens of the Methodist youth group of the Methodist Michigan Conference. The youth, with guidance, are planning the sessions and they are utilizing role playing using adults to do the role playing and youth as discussion panels. It has been used successfully with older youth, but the current program is a new venture.

OTHER COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Closely related to the youth groups in churches are the sex education programs which are conducted by such organizations as the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. There are many such programs. Some deal with the problems of youth, some deal with the problems of the unwed mother, some are in terms of pre-courtship courses, and a few are programs which deal with the questions relating to sex adjustment in the young married. These programs, again, vary much as do the programs presented by the church, and are almost totally dependent upon the kind of leadership which they are able to obtain.

One of the most extensive programs in the United States, which can be used effectually to impart sex information, is the Extension Service. The design of the Service is such that it reaches large numbers of people in a rather intimate way. Especially, it enables leaders to reach people in comparatively small groups so that discussion can become a part of whatever information is presented. Unfortunately, the design of the Extension Service is such that it is much more effective in those areas of learning in which skills are learned. However, I suppose if we are concerned only with the giving of information, that information about sex could be passed on as readily in this design as the skills of glovemaking or some of the other topics which are presently presented. In line with the philosophy of this paper, however, it is assumed that individuals will be thinking about more than biological information. In this case, the method of training the discussion leaders for the local groups, does not present an ideal format for adequate leadership training. Attempts are being made to modify the existing leadership training programs and certainly afford greater "in depth" training for them so that they can become more adequate, and that their knowledge of the topic will be on a much broader scale than can be presented to them in one training session. One suggestion is that they might have one individual in a local unit who becomes the family life leader for any topic which is presented in that general area. Then that leader can attend a series of meetings and become well-versed in a great variety of topics, including sex information, so that if the group reflected an interest in family life education, the trained individual could attend a leadership training session for further information and training in the specific area requested and would then be competent to return to his group as a leader in this area of learning.

CHALLENGES

RECREATING AND DEVELOPING LEADERS

In recent years there have been many more professionally led discussion groups in relation to sex at the adult level than we have ever had. Planned Parenthood provides leadership in this area. Sometimes we find physicians who afford leadership to local groups at Y.W.C.A.'s, etc. Certainly the family service agencies are rendering a real service as they are meeting with groups of individuals, especially from deprived areas. Despite these real achievements, however, one of the most pressing needs is for more leaders and for better trained leaders.

The professional groups are trying to do their part by introducing courses in family life education into the curriculum of medical schools and theological seminars. Social workers, nurses, physical educators and health teachers, home economics teachers, and many others are getting additional training in this area. But in addition to these, opportunities for the training of lay leaders must be provided also if the demand for leadership at the community level is to be met.

In Michigan, as has been mentioned previously, we do have a Parent Education Associates group, now numbering some 7,000 persons, who have had three years or more of training to be parent education leaders. Some of these women have been involved in the program for a period of fourteen or fifteen years. There are approximately 1,500 who are in training now.

The Parent Education Associates are drawn from many walks of life. They have varied backgrounds,as far as education is concerned, and certainly represent all levels of the economy. The one essential is that the individual herself be a family member who has found a certain enjoyment in the rearing of children, and that she in turn be willing to devote time to meeting with other parents in discussion groups. They do not become pseudo experts, nor do they try to set up groups in which they dictate to parents or try to admonish them about current practices of child rearing. The kind of experience which they hope to provide for parents is an informal discussion in which they can freely express their own ideas about their problems and their children, themselves, their husbands, and the problems that arise from the combination of these family members. The leader is trained in basic child growth and development concepts; not child rearing practices, essentially, but in learning more about the way people function, some of the problems they experience in adjustment, the significance of aggression, the importance of understanding individual differences in terms of growth patterns and needs. They learn about the psycho-sexual maturation patterns, although we do not put it in this academic framework; they try to appraise social situations as they exist, and not as they might ideally be conceived, in a nostalgic recapturing of the past, so that they tend to be much more comfortable in working with parents than the usual parent education leader in the more highly stylized parent education programs as they have existed.

During their period of study, they learn about group dynamics in a simple way, the elements of good discussion involvement, something about the use of sociodrama and role-playing, constructive use of films and materials of one sort and another. This enables them to add variety to the teaching material and teaching methods, which subsequently adds to the interest of the programs as they carry them out in the community.

As these people complete a three-year training program in which they meet once a month for approximately three hours, they assume leadership in their own churches or in relation to established on-going programs of parent education, such as a Child Study Program. They assist in small group discussions at grade levels within their own schools, such as the pre-school mothers, or they may function in any one of a variety of ways. They do not establish new organizations within the society through leaders within the existing structure.

It would seem that some such program is needed on a much broader basis if the need for local leaders in adult sex education is ever to be met.

ADULT SEX EDUCATION IN THE CULTURE OF POVERTY

In the work done with deprived families it is becoming more apparent that we do not as yet know these people well enough to be of great help to them. Workers have too often either imposed middle-class practices or have depended upon sociologic description which too often misses deep, emotional undertones. For instance, many ascribe great casualness toward sexual activity among the poor. They judge, on the basis of survey findings, that the practice reflects the inner feelings. This can be questioned. In long-term contact with small groups of women, some of whom had as many as nineteen children by various males, one begins to be aware of many other hidden feelings, with deep anger about being sexually used. It emerges in many ways.

It is often assumed that child-bearing would be decreased if adequate information could be given about contraceptive practices; yet in one meeting mothers discussed the problem which confronts them when men with whom they have intercourse puncture condoms while professing protection to them. The women understood the masculine need of impregnation for men who have little other in life to prove their manliness.

It would be much easier if all we needed to help these women and their men or their middle-class counter-parts was to see that they had certain information made available to them. The aforementioned women understood the use of condoms but they did not use this knowledge as a guide to their behavior because they also knew the need that their men had to feel good about themselves. The problem then was to help the women to more fitting ways to help men feel better about themselves and still protect themselves, as women, from repeatedly unwanted pregnancies. It is my conviction that such learning cannot be achieved from lectures to masses of people, pamphlets, etc. It requires small groups, long-term, in depth learning. It has to allow for competent leadership at the local level over a long period of time. Society must allow for this type of learning if it hopes for change.

But changes do occur, if not massive social changes, then at least very real individual changes. In one group of women with more children than they wanted, the discussions led them not only to changed feelings about contraception, but to changed feelings about themselves. One has recently purchased a mirror "cause now I can look at myself; cause I likes me better," and she sees her life with eight children in different perspective. One left the house where she had lived to move into a house which has a key, because she's got a "good enough job for what she has now without more children."

Mothers of the poor, for all of their apparent casualness about sex, have amazing pockets of shyness, prudery and hunger for knowledge about their own bodies and the sexual design of the male. Hovering over and through it all is, "How can we help our children to make the most of sex in their lives?" Such questions as, "How can our boys become men when they don't see 'men'?" "How soon should our girls know about 'the pill'?", etc. We are far from having the knowledge to aid them in quest of answers. We must learn from them, too.

If we admit to not knowing the answers, at least we are trying. In my own state the Merrill-Palmer Institute, Michigan Department of Social Welfare, and the Michigan Department of Mental Health are all attempting programs in sex education as a part of work with groups of A.D.C. mothers; Family Service Association works with "Enable." The Department of Health works through local units in prenatal programs and educational programs about venereal disease. Unfortunately such efforts are sporadic. They are only a beginning.

FINANCIAL AND OPERATIONAL SUPPORT

It has already been noted that solid financial support is one element that helps to assure the success of a community program. Most often the programs that succeed and endure have a firm base in some solvent organization whether it be a philanthropic foundation or a public agency such as the school district.

Increasingly government at all levels is showing a responsiveness to the needs in this area. Through mental health, through social welfare, through special grants and through many other channels funds and other support are becoming available to back well conceived local programs.

Not the least important type of support is the provision of leadership at the state level. Again, to use my own state as an example, Michigan, under the auspices of the state Council on Family Relations is attempting to coordinate the efforts of persons assuming statewide responsibility for sex education programs. This includes government agencies such as health (prenatal, maternal health, venereal disease, and illegitimacy), mental health (parent education, growth and development, problems involved in sex adjustment and aberrations), social welfare (strengthening family designs, illegitimacy), education (the whole problem of learning for growth from K through adult life), and others with lesser involvement. All are concerned with aiding local effort.

In addition to government agencies such agencies as state council of churches, state child study organizations (such as the cooperative nursery organization) and the broader adult education structures all can and must provide leadership. State councils, in turn, can look to the National Council on Family Relations and SIECUS for guidance in this effort.

CONCLUSIONS

All of this leads me to a few observations and conclusions which I think are important if we are going to have community involvement in sex education being carried on by a variety of people, and with as many patterns of presentation of both method and content as there are people involved:

1. We need more research which is not only sociological and descriptive. We need to know a great deal more about people themselves and the significance of relationships in all phases of life. Our sex practices may be so rigidly imposed by a moralistic view, or casually imposed by poverty and expedience, that neither reflects human need and fulfillment. Too, an erotic design may be so blatantly paraded that many others come to question their own normalcy.

2. We need much better training for those who are called upon for leadership in education, and we would hope that distortions of viewpoint are not imposed as codes of practice, whether inhibiting or verging on an exhibitionistic freedom.

3. We must utilize all structures for teaching in our communities, such as Extension Programs, Church, Adult Education in Public Schools, etc., to help human beings to an understanding of self. This makes sex education a necessity.

4. If sex education is given, it should be free of personal bias, unless the responsible group has the obligation to its own membership to assist the member in his task of assimilation and application such as we find in homogeneous groups within a given philosophic framework.

5. Any innovations must be founded upon historic consideration. One example cited in this paper illustrates the emergence, the testing and either incorporation or abandonment. No community needs to "start from scratch." We can learn from the success and failures in other communities. Sex in an erotic society is enticing and one can electrify a segment of the population at any time. The real test comes from the concerted energies in a given community combined to assess the strengths and weaknesses of their own community. Then and only then are we ready to look at the existing patterns and problems and to design the new for each individual community need.

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   1201 16th Street, N. W.
   Washington, D. C. 20036

3. Oak Park, Michigan
   Attention: School Nursing Section
   Oak Park Public Schools
   Oak Park, Michigan

4. Kalamazoo, Michigan
   Miss Margaret Large
   Women's Health Education
   Western Michigan University
   Kalamazoo, Michigan

5. Lansing, Michigan
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   Lansing Public Schools
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6. Haslett, Michigan
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This chapter appeared first as SIECUS Discussion Guide #3. It represents an attempt to provide in brief compass some guidance to professional persons on this highly controversial subject.

CHAPTER 6

MASTURBATION*

by Warren Johnson

Clinicians are involved daily in the conflicted attitudes concerning sex of the young and older men and women with whom they work. Confusion, fomented by moral and ethical teachings of earlier decades, is still superimposed on the findings of contemporary physiology and psychology. What was considered wicked and dangerous to health is now seen as part of the growing process, which needs to be understood rather than judged. Though certain religious groups would qualify this, it is part of a process that, to many experts, seems normal and necessary. It is encouraging to have such a point of departure emphasized together with the supporting facts.

Professional persons with responsibility for education and counseling of the public need authoritative help and encouragement in connection with all aspects of sexual behavior, feelings and attitudes. In particular they need to examine their own biases, prejudices and underlying anxieties to be at peace with themselves before they can be basically helpful to those whom they teach and counsel. A person who believes that sexual expression can be a means of spiritual as well as physical communication with another human being has the facility of helping others to relate the various types of sexual expression into a unifying whole, within the framework of their religious or ethical convictions. This study guide should serve as a useful step in this needed direction.

This study guide is intended primarily for professional people in positions of responsibility for programs for children and youth and/or counseling programs for parents and teachers, nurses, physicians, clergymen and other professionals.

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*The author is indebted to the SIECUS Board Members for their persistent and tireless efforts toward achieving the present consensus among so many opinions.

WHAT IS MASTURBATION?

Masturbation is sexual self-stimulation. Most writers use the term masturbation to mean the sexual self-stimulation that leads to climax or orgasm, as distinguished from the common fondling of the genitals observed especially among infants, young children and the retarded that is not directed specifically toward orgasm.

Various terms are commonly used to mean masturbation. These include autoerotism, self-abuse, playing with oneself, bad habit and onanism. The last derives from Onan's "spilling his seed upon the ground" (Genesis XXXVIII:9), but this episode refers to withdrawal from intercourse before orgasm (coitus interruptus) rather than to masturbation. Because all of these terms involve an expression of judgment about the act, the simple and descriptive term masturbation is to be preferred. Young people among themselves ordinarily use such terms as jerking off or jacking off, or, for females, rubbing off.

HOW IS MASTURBATION PRACTICED?

The derivation of the term from the Latin manus-hand + stuprare-to define or rape stems from the observed fact that masturbation is commonly practiced by stimulation of the genitals by the individual's own hand. In point of fact, however, there are many other means of masturbation that do not involve the hand, i.e. rubbing the thighs together, pressure or friction against or by an object, often accompanied by erotic reading, pictures or daydreaming. Masturbation is most often practiced in solitary fashion, but may also occur in the company of one or more others of the same or mixed sexes.

HOW PREVALENT IS MASTURBATION?

It is not possible, for obvious reasons, to state with complete accuracy the prevalence with which solitary masturbation is practiced. Data derived from thousands of people questioned by means of surveys or in clinical settings indicate that masturbation is extremely common among both male and females. Some authorities estimate the prevalence as high as one hundred percent (at least once to have masturbated to orgasm) among males and ninety percent among females. Above ninety percent for males, and above sixty percent for females, over a period of time, how ever, is perhaps a more realistic figure. Be that as it may, masturbation is common rather than unusual behavior, particularly among middle-class youth.

Although masturbation is usually considered a phenomenon of adolescence, many boys and girls discover orgasm long before puberty. Prior to puberty (and not uncommonly in the pre-school years) the male, like the female, is capable of orgasm even though it is not accompanied by ejaculation. Masturbation is also common in the adult years, out of as well as in marriage, and it is not uncommon in advanced years. Indeed, for many individuals, masturbation constitutes virtually the only overt outlet or release of sexual tension. It is therefore rather universally practiced, at least occasionally, in spite of its association with a sense of guilt. The undoubted fact that masturbation can be highly gratifying makes its wide practice understandable.

WHAT ROLE DOES MASTURBATION PLAY IN PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT?

The self-discovery and self-stimulation of masturbation is one of the ways by which a young child comes to accept his body as pleasurable. These early experiences help to lay the basis for future acceptance of sex as desirable and pleasurable--unless, of course, the child is led by his parents' negative reactions to view them as shameful and degrading.

During adolescence, masturbation and its attendant fantasies may not only be a means of releasing sex tension, but they may often serve as part of the adolescent struggle to achieve a sense of identity and a sexual self-image. Masturbation may also be used by a young person who is undergoing rapid physiological changes, to become acquainted with his sex organs and the sensations they are capable of producing.

Masturbation in adolescence can, on the other hand, be a symptom of many non-sexual conflicts. Boredom, frustration, loneliness, a poor self-image, inadequate boy-girl relationships, conflict with parents, too many pressures in school, etc., can all create tensions that the adolescent tries to relieve through masturbation. In such cases it is not the masturbation that must be examined, but the conflict of which it is a symptom; and counseling or psychotherapy may be indicated.

WHAT ATTITUDES ARE HELD TOWARD MASTURBATION?

Not all societies condemn masturbation--some accept it. Our own condemning attitudes reflect the influence of two major sources: (1) the Judeo-Christian tradition and (2) presently discarded medical opinion developed more or less in line with this tradition. Among the ancient Jews, whose laws strongly affected early Christian thinking in this regard, the intentional wasting of seed was considered sinful, a violation of the divine command imperative on all males to increase and multiply. Only the Orthodox among contemporary Jews maintain this position at present.

Early Christian thinking was also influenced by Augustine's belief that concupiscence, particularly the concupiscence associated with sex, was the result of original sin, and therefore, that the use of sex could be justified only for the purpose of procreation. Later theologians rejected Augustine's view of concupiscence but taught that the deliberate, full use of sex outside of intercourse was wrong. This teaching still furnishes the basic starting-point for present Catholic thinking on the morality of masturbation.

Moreover, current theological refinement by contemporary religious groups continues to stress interpersonal relationship as the essence of mature and appropriate sexual expression. To the extent, then, that masturbation may turn the individual away from the use of sex as a means of showing love and giving self to another, many Christian spokesmen would see deliberate autoeroticism as falling short of the ideal, and, for this reason, not morally indifferent. However, many religionists today, while not ready to accept masturbation as objectively amoral in every case, are much more ready to excuse and even to tolerate masturbatory practices by individuals who, for reasons of age or specific psychological dynamics, are not always able to live successfully with the ideal.

There are no laws in the United States against masturbation by the individual in private, but the traditional feeling against it has been so strong that the existence of such laws is generally presumed. In Indiana and Wyoming the Supreme Courts have ruled that inducing another person to masturbate is sodomy.

Medical opinion of a century and more ago and in some instances of today--was certainly influenced by the more primitive of the religious and moral traditions. In addition it had been observed that mentally disturbed people, especially those confined in institutions, masturbated frequently. Masturbation was thought to be the cause of their difficulties whereas in reality it was only a symptom of the mental derangement. Much was written on diseases, especially mental, thought to have been caused by masturbation.

The net effect of older religious and moral traditions and of medical teachings was to make masturbation a highly censored and punishable behavior--one that could have such dire results as insanity, death and possible damnation. Thus, parents felt justified in going to extremes to "save their children from themselves." Beatings and warnings about "going to hell" were commonplace. Much of our own controversial anti-pornography legislation (especially that initiated by Anthony Comstock, creator of the present postal obscenity laws) was based on the fear of masturbatory activity that was likely to follow upon exposure to stimulating literature. "Masturbation Clinics" were conducted under august medical auspices and aluminum mitts were sold to parents for incarceration of their children's hands at bedtime.

Today, most religious groups are re-examining some of their attitudes on masturbation, and medical and psychiatric opinion no longer takes seriously the alleged masturbation disease tie-in. Traditional attitudes remain strong, however, and one finds them persisting in the continuing practice among many parents of punishing their children--verbally, if not physically--for masturbation, in the still common belief of young people that masturbation causes various diseases, including pimples and other skin disorders, and in the fact that many professionals--even physicians, nurses and teachers--still believe that masturbation leads to neurological and mental disorders.

At the present time, therefore, it would appear that four positions regarding masturbation can be identified: (1) The traditional view which regards masturbation as always gravely sinful and as harmful to health--with some modification of its severity and rigidity in the light of new scientific knowledge; (2) the view of many religionists, which sees masturbation often as an imperfect egocentric eroticism which deflects the individual from the Christian concept of sexuality as being ideally an essential relation with another; (3) an attitude of neutrality, which accepts masturbation, recognizes that further study of its various patterns is required but is not prepared to encourage it as something positively good; and (4) a more radical position, which views masturbation as not only completely harmless, but positively good and healthy, and therefore encourages it among young people as an aid to more mature psychosexual growth.

In view of this diversity of opinion, it is clear that there is need today to deal openly with the subject of masturbation in the training of professional people, especially those who will be responsible in any way for the education and counseling of the public.

WHAT ARE THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL EFFECTS OF MASTURBATION?

Medical opinion is generally agreed today that masturbation, no matter how frequently it is practiced, produces none of the harmful physical effects about which physicians warned in the past. The physical effects of masturbation are not significantly different from the physical effects of any other sexual activity.

On the other hand, untold numbers of persons have suffered mental turmoil because of a sense of guilt about their practice of masturbation. For some, this turmoil has resulted in psychological damage. It should be clear, but frequently it is not, that the psychological damage is caused--not by the act of masturbation itself--but by the feeling that they have done something wrong, that they have violated a strong cultural, moral or religious ethic, and that they are aware that they will not be able to prevent recurrences. These feelings may also occur when young people are overwhelmed by the experience of orgasm and are not prepared for this response.

CAN MASTURBATION BE EXCESSIVE?

Masturbation can only be considered excessive in the same sense that excessive reading, or excessive watching of television can be symptoms. In other words neither of these things is in itself bad, but it may suggest the presence of problems that the individual is unable to handle. Thus, if an individual is watching television too much because this represents relief from pressures or because there are no other satisfactions available in life, then the problem is obviously not his addiction to television, but the pressures or the absence of other satisfactions.

Similarly, the frequent masturbation of children has sometimes been found to be due to skin irritation, but more often to adjustment problems. When one mother complained that her ten-year-old son would do little else in his free time but masturbate, questioning revealed that, because the boy had failed to learn basic play or sport skills, he was constantly teased and ridiculed when he attempted to play with other children. He had thus also failed to acquire appropriate social skills, with the result that the range of the expected sources of satisfaction in his life was greatly restricted. Individual work with a physical educator soon led to the acquisition of the needed play and sport skills and paved the way for acceptable social play with his peers. Clearly, his excessive masturbation had been the symptom of a problem rather than the problem itself.

It should be pointed out that the term excessive is vague and undefined and that it may in actuality reflect the lesser sexual drive of the person using the term, in the light of the very wide individual variations that exist in the desire and capacity to engage in sexual activity.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF FANTASY IN MASTURBATION?

Masturbation is usually accompanied by fantasies or daydreams in about three-fourths of the males who masturbate and about half of the females. There are differing hypotheses concerning these fantasies. It has been suggested that masturbation without any fantasy is unhealthy because it then becomes purely a mechanical act without any interpersonal sexual overtones. Some psychiatrists hold that fantasy of an affectionate heterosexual relationship can be a healthy accompaniment to masturbation, while types of fantasy that include sadomasochistic or homosexual behavior are harmful.

For many religious people, a fantasy of a sex act which, if performed in real life, would be against the individual's moral code, is ethically unacceptable. On the other hand, there are those who consider that the fantasied act may substitute for the real act and thus serve as a harmless avenue of release for more violent and antisocial urges.

CAN MASTURBATION BE PREVENTED?

As already indicated, in the history of our society both cruel and fantastic measures have been taken in an effort to prevent masturbation. Little more than half a century ago, an electrical device was patented that would ring a bell in a father's bedroom whenever his son had an erection. The father could then rush to his son's bedside to "save him from himself." All evidence indicates that neither this nor any other technique of repression succeeded except in the sense that a child became ever more clever in hiding his masturbation, ever more guilt- and anxiety-ridden in the practice of it, or even repressive in the handling of his basic sexual attitudes.

DOES MASTURBATION IN YOUTH REDUCE SEXUAL GRATIFICATION IN MARRIAGE?

There is no evidence that masturbation in youth reduces for either the male or female satisfaction in marriage. Kinsey's findings indicate that females who have not experienced orgasm prior to marriage take longer to become as good sex partners as those who already have some knowledge of sexual satisfaction. It is therefore unlikely that female masturbation reduces gratification in marriage. A woman who has masturbated in a particular way may not fully enjoy sexual activity with a husband if he fails to stimulate her in exactly the same way. In many cases, she need only explain her preferences to him.

There are males who, discovering that they suffer in marriage from premature ejaculation or impotence, jump to the conclusion that earlier masturbation was the cause, but clinical evidence suggests that the problem is generally found to have had its origin in some other cause.

Married individuals, incidentally, frequently use masturbation (solitary or mutual) for the release of sexual tension when, for any of a variety of reasons, sexual intercourse with the mate is not possible.

WHAT ADVICE SHOULD BE GIVEN CONCERNING MASTURBATION?

Students of human sexuality and of mental health seem increasingly to be taking the position that masturbation may be regarded as part of the normal process of sexual maturation.

From a strictly medical and mental health point of view, there is no reason to try to prevent masturbation. As a general rule, parents and adults concerned with youth are best advised to disregard evidence of private masturbation in juveniles, not to look for it nor try to prevent it directly, or even indirectly by attempting to divert the youngster's attention to other activities. As with other bodily functions, however, young children can be helped to become aware of the distinction that every individual must learn to make between what is acceptable as public and as private behavior, without implying that the private behavior must be in any way inferior or bad. In adulthood as well as in childhood, masturbation by individuals in private is coming more and more to be regarded as an acceptable means of releasing sexual tension.

Urging individuals troubled by the frequency of their masturbation to make earnest decisions to stop is not realistic and often may actually cause the frequency to increase. In fact, the acts may tend automatically to become fewer as the overlay of anxiety disappears. In the infrequent cases where compulsive masturbation is found in conjunction with severe personality disorders or juvenile psychoses, it is for these underlying conditions that psychiatric help is probably indicated.

Teachers, physicians and other counselors should recognize that full and accurate information about masturbation is required by both parents and youngsters and the subject should be given due attention in any formal or informal program of sex education. In such discussions, a simple non-judgmental, informative approach and manner will do much to dissipate the fears and anxieties about it that are so commonly found to block the road towards a mature acceptance of oneself as a sexual being.

Whatever values the teacher himself believes in he cannot ignore the wide variety of values which obtain in a pluralistic society. Ira Reiss has made very clear that several standards with respect to premarital sexual relations are, so to speak, "fighting it out" on the current scene and the one that seems to be emerging is one that demands affection as a criterion for judging any relationship. As we have noted many times, different schools will use this information in different ways. But no teacher can afford to ignore it.

CHAPTER 7

PREMARITAL SEXUAL STANDARDS*

by Ira L. Reiss

The best way to gain insight into premarital sexual standards today is to start with the realization that among young people abstinence is not the only nor in some cases the dominant standard. This is a fact that all of us must face whether or not we approve of such a state of affairs. The researches of Kinsey (10, 11), Ehrmann (4), and most recently, Reiss (15) make this apparent. On the other hand, one key characteristic of the new permissiveness is, as seen in the researches mentioned above, its relatively heavy reliance on affection and its low evaluation of promiscuity. In sum, then, there is a good deal of premarital sexual permissiveness, but it is largely regulated, particularly for females, by the amount of affection of the participants. It is the objective of this paper to spell out in greater detail what this means and to examine some of the research data in this area. The reader should appreciate that the present analysis is appropriate for middle-class Americans and deals only with heterosexual kissing, petting, and coital relationships and not with homosexuality or masturbation.

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*This is a revised version of Discussion Guide #5 written for SIECUS.

TRENDS IN PREMARITAL SEXUAL PERMISSIVENESS

RECENT CHANGES

The common belief that the proportion of non-virginity has risen markedly during the past 20 years is not supported by the evidence of research. The best source for data on trends comes from the Kinsey studies (10, 11), which show that the big change in female non-virginity occurred between those born before 1900 and those born subsequently. There was comparatively little difference in non-virginity among the groups of females born during the first, second, and third decades of this century. Differences were found among these three birth cohorts regarding petting to orgasm. In this activity there was a sharp increase in each group, but there was no comparable rise in non-virginity. When one examines more recent studies by Ehrmann (4), Freedman (6), Kirkendall (12), Reiss (15), and Schofield (17), made in the 1950's and 1960's the same results appear. Thus, although the evidence is surely not perfect, it does currently suggest that there has not been any change in the proportion of non-virginity for the past four or five decades equal to that which occurred during the 1920's.

Why has this widespread belief regarding sharply increased female non-virginity developed? Visibility is the first reason. There are almost 200 million Americans today, whereas 50 years ago there were only approximately half that many. When there are more people doing the same things, one is prone to believe something new is happening. For when twice as many people do something it becomes more visible even though the rate or percent remains the same. A second reason is greater willingness to talk about sexual matters. Not only are there more people having coitus (not a higher percentage), but there is more open talk about what is going on. This also increases public awareness. Relatedly, there appears to have been a change in attitudes about sexuality. Reiss (13, 15) presents recent evidence on this. Thus, although the same percentage of females have coitus, more of them accept this behavior as proper. Such a change in attitudes is a bolder and more direct attack on the established standard of abstinence and this, too, may raise the level of public awareness and anxiety. In summary, then, it takes time for the public to become aware of widespread changes, and factors such as those mentioned above have slowly brought about this awareness.

It may be interesting to note that a similar lack of general awareness exists in the area of divorce. Actually, the divorce rate (the number of divorces per thousand married females) has not changed radically in the past 25 years. The rate was slightly higher in the 1940's than in the 1950's; it has been rising slightly in the 1960's (18). Despite this fact there is a widespread belief that the divorce rate has been constantly sharply increasing. In reality the sharpest sustained increase occurred about the time of World War I. It generally was maintained during the 1920's and fell some during the 1930's and then rose somewhat during the 1940's. The reasons for this misconception are similar to our above discussion. Due to accumulation over the years there are more people today who have experienced divorce and thus visibility is greater and since acceptance has risen there is more public discussion of divorce. So here too one can see the myopia which afflicts the public vision. One of the key values of social science research is that it can help serve as a corrective lens for the "common sense" beliefs through which the public views society.

As noted above, there have been changes in attitudes since the great breakthrough in sexual behavior during the 1920's (13). The non-virginal female in the 1920's may well have been a rebel; the non-virginal female during the 1960's may well be a conformist. On the part of males, we can see that the male is today probably a "tamer" sexual creature than his father or grandfather was in the 1920's. Today the male is less likely to visit a prostitute and more likely to value affection as an element in sexuality (4, 10). This is not to deny that perhaps the majority of cases of male coitus are still lacking in affection but rather it is to assert that the proportion of coitus that involves affection may well be at an alltime high.

THE FOUR MAJOR PREMARITAL SEXUAL STANDARDS

What are the major premarital sexual standards that exist today? The author has delineated four (13): (1) Abstinence: The formal standard forbidding intercourse to both sexes;
(2) Double Standard: The Western World's oldest standard, which allows males to have greater access to coitus than females;
(3) Permissiveness With Affection: Attitudes favoring this standard have grown in popularity--intercourse is accepted for both sexes when a stable affectionate relationship is present; and (4) Permissiveness Without Affection: Coitus is accepted for both sexes on a voluntary basis regardless of affection. This last standard has a quite small number of followers but it is most newsworthy and thereby misleads the public as to the size of its following.

The question of love and how to recognize it is important to many of these standards. There are many types of love (5, 13). Most adherents seem to mean by love a subjective feeling of deep affection based upon detailed acquaintance with the other party. But other types of love are also possible. One might think that males could exploit females by pretending love, but it is believed that the female today is quite sophisticated and is not very often fooled by such "lines." However, the female may deceive herself in order to justify her own sexual behavior. Self-deception of some sort is possible under any of the four major standards since all involve some sort of restriction on coitus which one might want to evade.

During the nineteenth century the standards that dominated the courtship scene were abstinence and the double standard. Lest we mythologize our past, we must remember that this was one of the "golden" periods of prostitution and that, television notwithstanding, in the real Old West the dance hall girls did more than dance. Cities in the East spawned their own brand of houses of prostitution. It would seem that abstinence was then, as it is now, predominantly a standard practiced by females and that males were largely double standard. It is hard to estimate how many females were also double standard, but one can say that a sizable number believed they must accept the fact that "this is a man's world." Many males were affected by abstinence beliefs more to the point of increasing their guilt than of restricting their behavior.

The real shift in the twentieth century was not from an era of "purity" and abstinence believed in and practiced by both sexes, but from a period of a strong double standard, of powerful repressions on the part of many females and some males, and of vast networks of underground sexuality, both professional and non-professional, involving some of the world's most "hard core" pornography, and established prostitution. In respect to males, this was not so unusual, for during the past 2,000 years, the Western World has never succeeded in bringing to adulthood as virgins the majority of even one generation of males.

The open type of courtship system and marital choice that was evident in America even in the nineteenth century, came into full growth in the twentieth. Together with this courtship system's maturity came a shift in power regarding sexual activity. Without chaperonage, in a large city, with access to privacy in cars, apartments and hotels, the young person increasingly came to exercise his or her own judgment regarding what type of sexuality was permissible. Because these youngsters were under the stress of their own sexual drives and the permissive pressures of the dating system of urban society, they devised sexual codes that were considerably more liberal than those of their parents. Reiss (15) has documented the high association between having a participant-run courtship system and the acceptance of premarital coitus.

It was in the 1920's that the new system burst upon the public consciousness of Americans. The pressures of an increasingly industrialized and urbanized society and the autonomy implicit in our marital and family system for generations had bred a new type of courtship system. The highly permissive behavior during the 1920's was most likely accompanied by a great deal more guilt and self-recrimination than is now the case. Young people today have the benefit of the therapeutic effects of open discussion and they have two generations of practice to make easier their acceptance of the new permissiveness. The psychological aspects of this situation are discussed carefully in a recent report by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (7).

Recent evidence indicates that even those females who accept abstinence are most likely to accept intimate forms of petting, sometimes to the point of orgasm, when they are involved in an affectionate relationship (12, 15, 17). Even those males who accept the double standard are likely to accept intercourse for females when they are in love. Thus, all our premarital sexual codes--both old and new--have been "liberalized." Abstinence is still the dominant code for most females and a sizable minority of males, particularly those under 20. The double standard is still the dominant code for many males and females, but permissiveness with affection has today achieved a respectability and a sizable minority following among both sexes. The choice of a premarital sexual code has become, among young people, a legitimate choice among valid alternatives, and even those who accept abstinence defend the right of others to choose permissiveness. The legitimation of choice is a significant change and one that goes along with the trend toward more permissive sexual attitudes.

CONFLICTING VALUES

SOME CAUSES OF PERMISSIVENESS

Parents are under different pressures from their courting children and they are also responsible for their children. Consequently they are generally less permissive. They exert their strongest influence in the values they pass on to their children during the early years. In many cases these are values that are unintentionally congruent with permissiveness. This should be expected because these parents were themselves quite permissive when in the courtship role and thus tend to stress values such as pleasure, autonomy and psychic satisfaction--all congruent with permissiveness. It is estimated that a few hundred thousand girls each year are pregnant when they marry; the same number of single women undergo illegal abortions each year and an equal number will become unwed mothers. Venereal diseases also involve hundreds of thousands of young people. Anderson (1), Gebhard (8), and Vincent (19), all offer specific and relevant data and discussion here. Parents are naturally concerned lest their offspring become part of these statistics. However, it should be noted that--despite the popular press--teenagers are relatively low on venereal disease rates compared to older persons.

The difficulties of doing anything about the consequences of greater permissiveness become apparent when one realizes that our type of courtship inevitably involves a certain amount of such consequences. The same parents who decry the consequences favor a free courtship system--a system that encourages permissiveness. Even more paradoxical is the stress parents place on love as the basis for marriage and happiness. Ehrmann's (4) research findings on female permissiveness indicate that love is a key factor promoting sexual intercourse. Thus, the more parents stress love the more their daughters will engage in coitus. In short, the causes of our high permissiveness are often activities of which parents approve and are therefore unlikely to alter.

CONTROL OF CONSEQUENCES: THE CASE OF CONTRACEPTION

There are conflicting values regarding "cures" as well as causes. Disseminating contraceptive information would likely reduce the premarital pregnancy rate, yet many people fear that it would encourage permissiveness. One may question this fear because the available evidence indicates that it is one's basic values and the pressures of the situation that actually determine whether intercourse takes place (15). The knowledge of effective contraception may be a minor factor in such a decision, but it would rarely be a determining force. Most of the increases in sexual behavior occurred before technical advances in contraception became widespread. The best contraceptively informed groups are not necessarily the most permissive. Boys are not necessarily better informed than girls, Negroes than whites, lower classes than upper classes, and yet permissiveness varied considerably among these groups. It is not always in the direction of the better informed being the most permissive. Nevertheless, one may still object for religious or moral reasons to the giving of contraceptive information. Rightly or wrongly, there is a rapid increase in the willingness of the Federal and State governments and of private groups to give contraceptive information and, in many cases, contraceptive devices also. This development does not mean that parents fully accept the new permissiveness.

Rather it is a concession made by some to the prevention of premarital pregnancy and venereal disease.

The role of parent involves such different demands and perspectives from those of the courtship role as to make it likely that we shall witness conflict between the generations as long as we have a relatively free courtship system. It should also be clear that premarital pregnancy cannot be controlled by "devices." Clearly, attitudes have to change also. Many females cannot use a diaphragm or "pill" because they cannot conceive of themselves as being prepared for coitus all the time. They must be emotionally carried away for coitus to occur. Such a self-image is common and blocks the effective use of many contraceptive devices. Contraceptive information can lessen somewhat the number of unwanted pregnancies but a full solution requires deeper attitudinal changes regarding the acceptability or non-acceptability of premarital coitus.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

THE SOCIETAL SETTING

The choice of a premarital sexual standard is a personal moral choice and no amount of facts or trends can "prove" scientifically that one ought to choose a particular standard. Thus, the individual is in a sense "free." In reality, broad societal and cultural pressures produce trends that are difficult for individuals to overcome. The courtship system characteristic of Twentieth Century America is one that has been developing here since the appearance of the first white man. It involves a set of values stressing autonomy of choice that echoes our frontier days, a set that fits with the high mobility of our small nuclear families of today and with the equalitarianism of our male-female marital relations. Our religious institution also stresses autonomy of choice as does our political system. There are signs in the political institution supporting the permissive trends with the governmental dissemination of contraceptive information and generally liberal censorship decisions by the Supreme Court. The religious institution also seems to be in part more acceptant of views held by men like Bishop Pike and Harvey Cox and John Robinson (16). (See also the famous Quaker Committee statement (9).) Even the mass media are beginning to present informative shows on unwed mothers and venereal disease. All these institutional structures are responding to our general type of society and displaying increased permissiveness.

THE ASSOCIATION OF SEX AND AFFECTION

The higher permissive sexual standards of today are tied to the love notions of young people. Females in particular associate sexuality with stable affectionate relationships. Increasingly males seem to value the association of sexuality with affection. Our going steady, pinned and engagement customs all evidence this fact. The trend is toward the acceptance of sexual permissiveness in an affectionate context, i.e., toward a person-centered rather than a body-centered type of permissiveness (2, 13). This can be seen in abstinence with the acceptance of petting when affection is present, in the double standard by the acceptance of coitus for females when in love, in permissiveness with affection by the popularity of this standard and in permissiveness without affection by the lack of a widespread following.

The Scandinavian countries have developed even further than we a type of affection-centered premarital sexual permissiveness (5). [See Christensen's chapter.] We seem to be heading toward a Scandinavian type of sexuality. This statement should be qualified. A country of 200 million people could never accept a single sexual standard. Change will be slow, and the old standards of abstinence and the double standard will surely not vanish. There will exist into the foreseeable future the four competing sexual codes described above. The respectability of abstinence, however, has now been partially spread to other, more minor sexual codes. In particular, it seems that permissiveness with affection will have a larger role to play in courtship in America in generations to come. It is interesting to note that many Scandinavians view our females as more promiscuous than Swedish females. They feel that the American female defines "sex" too much in terms of just coitus and therefore pets intimately with many boys while remaining virginal. The Swedish female is more discriminate about petting, but when she is affectionately involved she is more likely to have coitus.

Although this paper is more relevant for the middle class in America, the reader should be aware that even this class is diverse and that there are groups of young people in our country wherein most girls and perhaps a large proportion of the boys will continue to accept abstinence. There are smaller groups in which the vast majority of both sexes will accept permissiveness without affection. Abstinent people will stress the importance of saving coitus for marriage and permissive people will emphasize the value of physical and psychic rewards. The point is that the average of the new middle class in our country has veered off in a more permissive direction. This is not a sudden change--it is not a revolution (6, 13). It is, rather, a gradual evolvement of a courtship system that reflects many other aspects of our society. It is a broadening of our image of masculinity and femininity. The entire area of the development of masculinity and femininity requires detailed treatment as a related and important topic and will be handled in other discussion guides.

The evolving system among young people stresses the "rational" examination of consequences of permissiveness. If one is interested in examining the consequences that follow from adherence to a particular sexual standard, then one is confronted by the fact that the same sexual standard may have quite different consequences depending on the type of person and his situation. Christensen and Carpenter (3) have shown that the consequences of coitus in Denmark, Indiana and Utah differ considerably. [See Chapter 13.] Such findings encourage young people to tolerate other standards. One may personally object to this tolerance owing to a belief that one sexual standard is correct for all regardless of consequences, but such a position would encounter opposition among many young people today. Those in authority who accept one sexual standard as correct for all are learning to proceed softly in order to gain adherents among young people.

SUMMARY

Sexual attitudes and behavior today are more overt than ever before. For more specific information on how various social groups differ from each other, see the author's most recent national study (15). Realistically speaking, one can expect the gradual growth in permissiveness to continue. Now that our sexual attitudes and behavior are more in line with each other, we may well soon witness a more rapid increase in permissive sexual behavior and/or attitudes. Our system is not inevitably anti-abstinence as much as it is acceptant of permissiveness as an alternative. Organizations like the Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S. (SIECUS) are aware of this extensive cultural change regarding sexuality and they are concerned with increasing information and education in this area. Current knowledge, though increasing, is still limited; it is important to comprehend more deeply our sexual customs. Our sexuality is not an isolated aspect of ourselves. Rather, it is a basic reflection of the type of person we are and the type of society in which we live. Whether or not one approves of the direction in which we as a people are moving, he may well want to gain greater clarity on the nature of our system.

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CHAPTER 8

SEX AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS*

Lester A. Kirkendall and Rober W. Libby

Many influential people are moving toward the idea that sexual morality must be regarded more in terms of relationships rather than in terms of renouncing or accepting a particular sexual behavior code. This view holds true even for liberal religious leaders who argue that the first consideration in sexual morality must be genuinely responsible sexual conduct guided by a sincere regard for the rights of others. In other words, the shift is from emphasis upon an act to emphasis upon the quality of interpersonal relationships.

If an increasing concern for sex as an interpersonal relationship is the trend of the sexual renaissance, and we think it is, then clearly we must know how sex and sexual functioning are affected by relationships and vice versa. An extensive psychological literature has been developed to explain individual functioning; individual differences, individual growth patterns, individual cognitive development have all been explored. But relatively little is known about "relationships" as such--their components, or what precisely causes them to flourish, or to wither and die. A psychology more concerned with interpersonal relationships is now much needed. This also suggests the need to develop a field of research devoted to understanding sex and interpersonal relationships.

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*This chapter is adapted from an article first appearing under the title, "Interpersonal Relationships--Crux of the Sexual Renaissance," _Journal of Social Issues_, 22, April 1966, pp. 45-59.

Finally, as a psychology and a sociology of relationships is developed, and as research findings provide a tested body of content for teaching, parents and educators may find a new stance. They can become less concerned with interdicting sexual expression of any kind, and more concerned with building an understanding of those factors which facilitate or impede the development of interpersonal relationships.

RESEARCH ASSOCIATING SEX AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

It is only within the last few years that some research has come to focus on interpersonal aspects of sexual adjustment.

That this is a fruitful approach is already evident from the results of some of the recent studies. Such research is still meager in scope and its methods and procedures will undoubtedly be much improved with experience. Much still remains in the realm of speculation and conjecture. But a beginning has been made, and the findings are enlightening and exciting.

One generalization growing out of the studies can be advanced at this point. A sexual relationship is an interpersonal relationship, and as such is subject to the same principles of interaction as are other relationships. It too is affected by social, psychological, physiological and cultural forces. The effort, so characteristic of our culture, to pull sex out of the context of ordinary living, obscures this simple but important generalization. Yet research findings constantly remind us of it.

THE IMPACT OF AFFECTION ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Ehrmann (5) examined the association of premarital sexual behavior and interpersonal relationships. He studied the progression of individuals through increasingly intense stages of intimacy as they moved toward or rejected premarital intercourse. He was interested in understanding the various stages of intimacy behavior in relation to a number of factors. The stages were related to the attitudes with which acquaintances, friends and lovers regarded sexual intimacy, the kinds of controls exercised, and other factors which helped build certain feelings and attitudes in interpersonal relationships.

Two conclusions will illustrate the character of his findings. In discussing the differences in male-female attitudes which are found as affectional ties deepen, Ehrmann writes:

> . . . males are more conservative and the females are more liberal in expressed personal codes of sex conduct and in actual behavior with lovers than with nonlovers. In other words, the degree of physical intimacy actually experienced or considered permissible is among males inversely related and among females directly related to the intensity of familiarity and affection in the male-female relation. . . . Female sexual expression is primarily and profoundly related to being in love and going steadily. . . . Male sexuality is more indirectly and less exclusively associated with romanticism and intimacy relationships (5, p. 269).

Ehrmann, then, has educed evidence that maleness and femaleness and affectional level influence the character of those interpersonal relationships expressed in sexual behavior.

Similarly, Schofield (18) in a study of 1,873 London boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 19 found that:

> Girls prefer a more permanent type of relationship in their sexual behaviour. Boys seem to want the opposite; they prefer diversity and so have more casual partners . . . there is a direct association between the type of relationship a girl has achieved and the degree of intimacy she will permit. . . (18, p. 92).

Kirkendall (11) conducted a study which centered upon understanding the association which he believed to exist between interpersonal relationships and premarital intercourse. He posited three components of an interpersonal relationship--motivation, communication and attitudes toward the assumption of responsibility--and studied the impact of premarital intercourse on them. Two hundred college-level males reported sexual liaisons with 668 females. These liaisons were arrayed along a continuum of affectional involvement. The continuum was divided into six segments or levels which ranged from the prostitute level, where affection was rejected as a part of the relationship, to fiancees--a level involving deep affection.

The relationship components were then studied to determine their changing character as one moved along the continuum. Thus it was found that communication at the prostitute level had a distinct barter characteristic. At the second (pickup) level there was a testing and teasing type of communication. At the deep affectional and the fiancee level there was much more concern for the development of the kind of communication which would result in understanding the insight.

Similarly, the apparent character of the motivation central to the sexual relationsnip changed from one end of the continuum to the other. As depth of emotional involvement increased, the motivation changed from a self-centered focus to a relationship-centered one. And, increasing emotional involvement resulted in an increasing readiness to assume the responsibilities involved in the sexual relationship.

The study thus provides clear evidence that considering premarital intercourse in blanket terms--as though intercourse with a prostitute could be equated with intercourse with a fiancee--submerged many nuances and shades of meaning. Until these interpersonal differentiations are taken into account, there is little chance of any realistic or meaningful understanding of the character of premarital intercourse.

THE IMPACT OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE UPON AFFECTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Burgess and Wallin (4) explored the possibility that premarital intercourse might strengthen the relationship of engaged couples who engaged in it. They asked those subjects (81 men and 74 women) who reported experience in premarital intercourse if they felt the experience strengthened or weakened their relationship. Some 92.6% of the men and 90.6% of the women attributed a strengthening effect to intercourse, and only 1.2% of the men and 5.4% of the women considered intercourse to have a weakening effect. The remainder noted no change either way. Burgess and Wallin comment:

> . . . This finding could be construed as testimony for the beneficial consequences of premarital relations, but with some reservations. First, couples who refrained from having premarital intercourse were not asked whether not doing so strengthened or weakened their relationship. They might have reported unanimously that their relationship had been strengthened by their restraint.
>
> Such a finding could be interpreted as signifying one of two things: (a) that both groups are rationalizing or (b) that given the characteristics, expectations, and standards of those who have intercourse, the experience strengthens their relationships, and, similarly, that given the standards of the continent couples the cooperative effort of couple members to refrain from sex relations strengthens their union (4, pp. 371-372).

Kirkendall (11), after an analysis of his data, reinterpreted the findings of Burgess and Wallin. He envisioned a more complex interplay than simply a reciprocating association between sexual experience and the strengthening or weakening of a relationship. He suggested this interpretation:

> Some deeply affectionate couples have, through the investment of time and mutual devotion, built a relationship which is significant to them, and in which they have developed a mutual respect. Some of these couples are relatively free from the customary inhibitions about sexual participation. Some couples with this kind of relationship and background can, and do, experience intercourse without damage to their total relationship. The expression "without damage" is used in preference to "strengthening," for it seems that in practically all instances "non-damaging" intercourse occurred in relationships which were already so strong in their own right that intercourse did not have much to offer toward strengthening them (11, pp. 199-200).

THE IMPACT OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

Several studies have linked sexual behavior at the adolescent or young adult level with presumed causal relationships which existed in childhood, particularly those involving some sort of deprivation, usually affectional. This view, of course, will be nothing new to those familiar with psychiatric literature.

An interesting study which demonstrates this linkage is reported by Harold Greenwald (9). Greenwald studied 20 call girls, prostitutes who minister to a well-to-do clientele. He found that ". . . many of the tendencies which lead to the choice of the call girl profession appear early in youth. . ." (9, p. 182). The childhood backgrounds of the call girls appeared to be lacking in genuine love or tenderness. "The fundamental preventive task, then, becomes strengthening the family as a source of love and growth" (9, p. 182).

Ellis and Sagarin (6), in their study of nymphomania, also suggest that its causation has its roots in inadequate childhood relationships.

In studies made at the San Francisco Psychiatric Clinic, Lion (13) and Safir (17) found that promiscuity was related to personality deficiencies, and that these in turn were related to homes characterized by disorganization, weak or broken emotional ties, and lack of loyalties or identification with any person or group.

If a tie of this kind does exist, it would seem logical that changes in the capacity to experience improved relationships (arising, for example, through therapy) should result in some change in the sexual pattern. Support for this view comes from Berelson and Steiner (1). In their inventory of scientific findings concerning human behavior, they say that:

> Changes toward a more positive attitude regarding sexual activity and toward freer, more enjoyable sexual activity than the patient was previously capable of having, are reported as correlates of psychotherapy from several camps (1, p. 290).

Graham (8) obtained information on the frequency and degree of satisfaction in coitus from 65 married men and women before they began psychotherapy. The data from these couples was compared with similar information from 142 married men and women who had been in treatment for varying periods of time. The results indicated, with certain reservations, that psychotherapy did free indviduals for "more frequent and more satisfactory coitus experience" (8, p. 95).

Let us explore this logic from another side. If disorganized and aberrant sexual patterns are more frequent in adolescents or young adults who have experienced some form of emotional deprivation in childhood, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that those who had experienced normal emotional satisfactions should display more of what is considered conventional in their sexual practices. Since studies are more commonly done with persons who are recognized as problems, this possibility is not so well documented. There is, however, some evidence to support this view.

Loeb (14) in a study involving junior and senior high school youth, attempted to differentiate between boys and girls who do and do not participate in premarital intercourse. He advanced these conclusions:

> First, teenagers who trust themselves and their ability to contribute to others and have learned to rely on others socially and emotionally are least likely to be involved in irresponsible sexual activity. Second, teenagers who have learned to be comfortable in their appropriate sex roles (boys who like being boys and wish to be men, and girls who like being

> girls and wish to be women) are least likely to be involved in activities leading to indiscriminate sexuality (14).

In an analysis of British teenagers Schofield (18) found that:

> . . . girls who got on very well with their fathers were far less likely to be sexually experienced. . . .
>
> . . . boys who did not get on well with their mothers were more likely to be sexually experienced. . . .
>
> . . . girls who got on well with their mothers were less likely to be sexually experienced. . . (18, p. 144).

Both of these studies point to a greater degree of sexual restraint, and probably of sexual responsibility, in children whose early affectional relationships have been satisfying.

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR PATTERNS AND DEVELOPMENTAL LEVELS

Maturity and developmental levels represent still other factors. Broderick (2, 3) has made some interesting studies on the appearance and progressive development of various sexual manifestations with age. In a study of children in a suburban community he found that for many children interest in the opposite sex begins in kindergarten or before. Kissing "which means something special" is found among boys and girls as early as the third and fourth grades. In some communities dating begins for a substantial number of children in the fifth and sixth grades, while "going steady" is common at the junior high school level.

The level of maturity at which such experiences are encountered apparently has some consequence. Schofield (24) found, for example, that "those who start dating, kissing, and inceptive behavior at an early age are also more likely to have early sexual intercourse" (18, p. 73).

Level of maturity even has consequences for the sexual experience of adults, according to Maslow (19). In his study of self-actualized people he makes several comments about the character of sexual functioning and sexual satisfaction in people who are considerably above the average so far as emotional health is concerned. He says:

> . . . sex and love can be and most often are very perfectly fused with each other in (emotionally) healthy people. . .
>
> . . . self-actualizing men and women tend on the whole not to seek sex for its own sake, or to be satisfied with it alone when it comes. . .
>
> . . . sexual pleasures are found in their most intense and ecstatic perfection in self-actualizing people. . .
>
> These people do not need sensuality; they simply enjoy it when it occurs (15, p. 241-3).

Maturity as discussed here is closely allied to the concept of interpersonal competence, and the capacity for closeness. To that extent, these studies further underscore the significance of the quality of the interpersonal relationship in determining the quality of the sexual relationship.

REQUIREMENTS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The theme of this chapter has been that a concern for interpersonal relationships as the central issue in the management of sexuality is displacing the traditional emphasis on the avoidance or renunciation of all non-marital sexual experience.

Some requirements, however, face social scientists who wish to understand this shift. We have four to suggest.

1. _It will be necessary to commit ourselves fully to the study of relationships rather than simply reflecting on them occasionally._ In the area of sex, concern has been over-focused on the physical acts of sex. Thus the senior author, while doing the research for his book, _Premarital Intercourse and Interpersonal Relationships_, became aware that he was giving undue attention to the act of premarital intercourse, even while trying to set it in an interpersonal relationship context. As a consequence, crucial data were ignored. For example, in selecting subjects, if one potential subject had engaged in much carressing and petting, but had renounced the opportunity for intercourse many times, while another possible subject had merely gone through the physical act of copulation a single time, the latter one was defined as a subject for the research and the first was by-passed as though he had engaged in no sexual nor any interpersonal behavior.

With this realization came a decision to do research on decisions made by individuals concerning sexual behavior, regardless of whether they had had intercourse. The result is a recently-completed preliminary study in which 131 non-randomly selected males were interviewed (10). Of this group 72 (55%) had not had intercourse, but apparently only 17 (13%) had not been in a situation which required a decision. Eleven of these had made a firm decision against intercourse, quite apart from any decision-making situation, thus leaving only six who had never faced the issue of decision-making. In other words, when one thought of sexual decision-making as an aspect of interpersonal relationships, rather than continuing to focus on whether or not an act had occurred, one greatly increased the number who were potential subjects, and vastly increased the range of interpersonal behavior available for study.

We offer one further illustration of the reorientation in thinking necessary as we come to accept a concern for relationships as the central issue. The view which emphasizes the quality of interpersonal relationships as of foremost concern is often labelled as "very permissive" when sex standards and behavior are under discussion. This conclusion is possible when concern is focused solely on whether the commission of a sexual act is or is not acceptable. Certainly the emphasis on interpersonal relationships diverts attention from the act to the consequences. But having moved into this position, one finds himself in a situation which is anything but permissive. Relationships and their outcome seem to be governed by principles which are unvarying and which cannot be repealed. The fiat of parents or the edicts of deans can be softened, but there is no tempering of the consequences of dishonesty, lack of self-discipline, and lack of respect for the rights of others upon interpersonal relationships. If one wishes warm, accepting interpersonal relationships with others he will be defeated by these practices and no one, regardless of his position of authority can change this fact. Proclamations and injunction will be of no avail. There is no permissiveness here!

2. *Conceptual definitions of relationships will have to be developed.* Several social scientists have initiated work on this. For example, Foote and Cottrell (7) have identified six components of interpersonal competence--health, intelligence, sympathy, judgment, creativity and autonomy. Schultz (20) has developed the FIRO test to measure interpersonal behavior around three interpersonal needs--the needs for inclusion, control and affection. As has been noted, Kirkendall (11) centered his study around three components--motivation, communication and readiness to assume responsibility. Communication and motivation have both been frequently recognized aspects of interpersonal relationships.

However, the conceptualization of relationships in a manner which will permit effective research is still at an embryonic level. The numerous (for there are undoubtedly many) components of relationships have still to be determined, and methods and instruments for their measurement must be developed and perfected. Interpersonal relationships as a field of psychological study should be developing concurrently, for only in this way can we gain the needed broadening of our horizons.

3. _Methods and procedures will have to be devised which will enable us to study relationships_. The perceptive reader will have noted that while studies have been cited because, in our estimation, they bore on interpersonal relationships, all of them with the exception of that by Burgess and Wallin (4) obtained their information on interpersonal relationships by using individuals rather than pairs or groups as subjects. This is quite limiting. Would we not get a different view of premarital intercourse if we could interview both partners to the experience rather than one?

Methods of dealing with couples and groups, and research procedures which can zero in on that subtle, intangible, yet real tie which binds two or more people in an association are needed. Some work has already been done in this direction, but it has not been applied to sex and interpersonal relationships.

4. _The isolation of the most important problems for research is a requirement for progress_. Opinions would naturally differ in regard to what these problems are. We would suggest, however, that since sex relationships _are_ interpersonal relationships, the whole field of interpersonal relationships with sex as an integral part needs to be attacked.

Kirkendall (11) has suggestions for further research scattered throughout his book. He suggests such problems as an exploration of the importance of time spent and emotional involvement in a relationship as a factor in determining whether a relationship can sustain intercourse, the factors which produce "loss of respect" when sexual involvement occurs, the meaning of sexual non-involvement for a relationship, factors which impede or facilitate sexual communication, and the relation of knowledge of various kinds of success or failure in sexual relationships.

His study poses many questions which merit answering. How do the emotional involvements of male and female engaged in a sexual relationship differ, and how do they change as the relationship becomes more (or less) intense? How nearly alike, or how diverse, are the perceptions which male and female hold of the total relationship and of its sexual component at various stages in its development? How does the rejection of a proffered sexual relationship by either partner affect the one who extended the offer? And what are the reactions and what produced them in the person receiving it? If there are no sexual overtures, how does this affect relationships?

Which value systems make it most (and least) possible for a couple to communicate about sex? To adjust to tensions which may accompany intercourse or its cessation? Which enable a couple to cope most affectively with the possible traumas of having their relationship become public knowledge, or of pregnancy?

In what diverse ways do premarital sexual experiences affect marital adjustments? What enables some couples who have been premarital sexual partners to separate as friends? Why do others separate with bitterness and hostility? What relation has maturity in other aspects of life to maturity in assessing the meaning of and coping with sexual manifestations of various kinds in the premarital period?

The questions could go on endlessly, yet the isolation of important areas for research remains one of the important tasks before us.

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2. Burgess, E. W., and Wallin, P. Engagement and Marriage, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1953. A classic interactionist study of dating, engagement, sexual relation ships and predicting success in marriage. Reactions of spouses to premarital intercourse are explained in Chapter 12. The martial relationship is discussed in terms of sex and interpersonal relationships.

3. Ehrmann, W. Premarital Dating Behavior, New York: Bantam, 1959. A thorough study of dating, sex roles, sexual behavior and sexual attitudes of modern youth. Relationships between ideas of love, sex codes and heterosexual behavior are explored in an interpersonal relationship context. The sex educator will find the chapter on intimacy relationships and sex codes of special interest.

4. Foote, N., and Cottrell, L. S., Jr. Identity and Interpersonal Competence, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Basic principles of interpersonal competence are explored. The principles are related to self identification and competence in relationships, be they sexual or not.

5. Grunwald, H. A. (Ed.) Sex in America, New York: Bantam, 1964. Chapters by Walter Stokes, Lester Kirkendall and Rollo May, etc., relate to the sexual revolution, interpersonal relationships, and sexual morality in a changing world. This is a paperback of much worth to the sex educator.

6. Hettlinger, R. E. Living with Sex: The Student's Dilemma, New York: The Seabury Press, 1966. Problems of youth are discussed objectively and creatively by a professor of religion. The emphasis on responsible decision-making instead of traditional dogma makes this an effective and stimulating volume for students, teachers and parents.

7. Kirkendall, L. A. *Premarital Intercourse and Interpersonal Relationships*, New York: Julian Press, 1961 (also available in paperback through Matrix House). A research study of interpersonal relationships based on case histories of 668 premarital intercourse experiences reported by 200 college level males. The emphasis is on the differing motivations and consequences of premarital intercourse in relationships ranging from liaisons with fiancees. Chapters on the effects of premarital intercourse on relationships and on marriage are included, with suggestions advanced for the successful integration of sex and interpersonal relationships.

8. Maslow, A. H. *Toward a Psychology of Being*, New York: Van Nostrand, 1962. A basis for satisfying interpersonal relations is presented. The sex educator may find this approach useful in terms of relating motivations for interpersonal relationships, be they sexual or not.

9. Wilson, J. *Logic and Sexual Morality*, Baltimore: Penguin, 1965. A most unusual approach to the study of interpersonal relationships and sexual morality. The author, an English philosopher and former professor of religion, does not pretend to know 'the answer' to the sexual dilemma. Instead, he explores the irrationality of absolutist positions, and suggests a rational approach to sexual morality. One section deals with a rational approach to sex education. This book is a must for anyone in sex education.

In this provacative editorial, Jessie Bernard discusses the issues involved when high school teachers have to deal with "the $64 question" of premarital sex.

CHAPTER 9

THE SENSITIVE QUESTION

Jessie Bernard

In the lower grades and, perhaps, even immediately after puberty, the major interest of students will be to satisfy their curiosity about the nature of sex, in themselves and in the other sex. But in the senior high school, especially around the age of 15 and on, there is likely to be a great deal of concern about the relations between the sexes. And sooner or later, at some time or other, at least once in his teaching career, the teacher at the high school level is going to face the question "What's wrong with premarital sexual relations?" "Why shouldn't we do it?" Some questioners are, in effect, asking the teacher to give them permission to engage in premarital sexual relations or to sanction what they are already doing; some, by the same token, are asking for support in their desire not to engage in them.

"The choice of a premarital sexual standard," Reiss noted in Chapter 7 above, "is a personal moral choice and no amount of facts or trends can 'prove' scientifically that one ought to choose a particular standard." This fact does not solve the teacher's dilemma. He cannot answer the students' serious question with a shrug or with a quip to let their conscience be their guide. How to handle this question is often seen as the very core of pedagogy in sex education.

At the college-age level, there is a great deal of discussion in process and arguments on the pro side of the debate on premarital sexual experience are aired as persuasively as are those on the con side. At the high-school level, however, where the teachers this book is addressed to are likely to meet the problem, there is likely to be far less permissiveness. Parents, as Reiss noted above, tend to be conservative. Even the most permissive parents--usually of private-school students--hope their high-school daughters will not engage in premarital sexual relations; they would even prefer the same for their sons. Acceptance by even permissive adults of the new code which Reiss (Chapter 7) has traced and which Kirkendall and Libby (Chapter 8) have described is likely to be limited to college-age young men and women who, presumably, are mature enough to understand the responsibility that goes with it. The parents of public-school and parochial school students are not at all likely to be permissive for this age.

The school, unlike the university, is a conserving institution. The community does not look to it for innovation. Since, as Reiss notes, there is no clear-cut scientific imperative to give unequivocal guidance, the teacher has no moral obligation to fight for--or against--change. In some communities he may judge it important to tip the scales in the direction of greater permissiveness; in others, however, in the direction of greater control. Students in a school in which parents have made a demon of any expression of sexuality may need exposure to a more liberating, if not totally permissive, point of view. Just admitting that there are arguments pro and con with respect to premarital sexual relations may have a de-fusing effect. Those in a school in which parents have expressed themselves as accepting of anything their children care to do, may need exposure to a more restraining, if not completely inhibiting, point of view. In brief, here as elsewhere, the point of view that is taken in the classroom has to fit the needs of the students themselves. And, again, if or when there are some who seem engaged in a genuine conflict about their behavior, counseling services should be made available.

Although it is here recommended that the teacher suit his teaching to the needs of his students, this does not mean that he should have no point of view himself. The permissively-inclined teacher who pussyfoots or beats around the bush or hides his own convictions will earn the contempt of the students. He should have the courage of his convictions. But he is honor-bound to state them as his opinions and not to propagate them aggressively as science.

The chances are high that the teacher is not permissively inclined. If anything, the chances are that he is fairly conservative in his attitudes. He should, however, not be defensive about them. He should not permit himself to become angry if he is challenged. He should not allow himself to be put in the position of being dismissed by his students as out of touch with the current scene.

In neither case should the teacher--permissive or conservative in his own attitudes--permit the discussion to degenerate into a debate in which one side has to win and one to lose. The teacher should be prepared to offer the evidence of both sides, leaving to the students themselves the decision. He cannot, in any event, as Reiss notes, make the decision for them.

It makes a difference how the arguments for or against any premarital sexual standard are presented. If the pro side is offered first and then demolished, that favors the con argument; if the con is offered first and then demolished, that favors the pro argument. This principle is illustrated in the following sequence of arguments based primarily on the work of Kinsey and his associates. In each case, the pro or permissive argument is offered first and then answered.

One of the positive arguments in favor of early coital experience for girls, according to Kinsey and his associates, is that it constitutes an important learning experience.

> In socio-sexual contacts, individuals may become acquainted with each other, learn to adjust physically and emotionally, come to understand each other, and come to appreciate each other's qualities in a way which is not possible in any other type of social relationship. Learning to respond emotionally to a sexual partner may contribute to the effectiveness of one's other, non-sexual, social relationships (2, p. 327).

So much for the pro argument.

On the con side, it may be said that whatever the validity of this argument may have for more mature young women, it has not been demonstrated for girls at the high-school level. And Kirkendall above cited research which showed that "as the length of elapsed time in a dating relationship prior to intercourse increased, there was an increase in the amount of communication devoted to understanding. . . ." Until, therefore, more is known about the educational value to girls of coitus in the early and mid-teens, it could be argued equally persuasively that coitus puts a ceiling on the learning process, that once coitus has taken place, further mutual exploration of personality is muted. Neither this nor the Kinsey conclusion can be documented in detail; one is as persuasive as the other.

Another criterion Kinsey and his associates advance for evaluating a sexual code is the gain that would accrue in resolving the conflict between sexual urges and societal prohibitions and inhibitions; and this criterion, presumably, favors greater permissiveness. But this criterion is not cogent in the case of girls. The conflict they are exposed to is not from any uncontrollable sexual urges on their part but from the urges on the part of the boys.[1]

Another test Kinsey and his associates suggest for evaluating premarital coitus is the overall effect it has on marriage. In the absence of relevant data--the Burgess-Wallin data cited by Kirkendall above were for engaged couples--they substitute as the basis of evaluation the "subsequent capacity to respond to the point of orgasm in her marital coitus" (2, p. 328). On this basis they conclude that girls who had achieved orgasm in premarital coitus were better off than those who had not since they were more likely to achieve orgasm in marriage. They concede that there was a selective factor at work, but they do not concede that this is the whole story. They believe that:

> . . . there are psychologic and sociologic data which show the importance of early experience in the establishment of habits of thought and attitudes which are very difficult to alter or counteract in later years. That the capacity to respond to the point of orgasm may be developed is evidenced by a variety of data, but particularly by the fact that some women who are unresponsive in their early marriages may improve in the course of some years in their capacities to reach orgasm (2, p. 329).

They argue that inhibitions and negative response create interference with the kind of autonomic and involuntary responses necessary for satisfactory sexual relations. Thus:

> When there are long years of abstinence and restraint, and an avoidance of physical contacts and emotional contacts before marriage, acquired inhibitions may do such damage to the capacity to respond that it may take some years to get rid of them after marriage, if indeed they are ever dissipated (2, p. 330).

On the con side is what seems to be a fallacy in this conclusion. Aside from the fact that we are not talking about

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[1] Even on the part of the boys, Kirkendall has reported, the urge is not as all-consuming as the popular cliche would suggest. See L. A. Kirkendall, Premarital Intercourse and Interpersonal Relationships, Julian Press, 1961.

"long years of abstinence and restraint," the fallacy lies in the fact that girls who engage in premarital coitus but who do not achieve orgasm--about half (2, p. 334)--are worse off so far as subsequent marital orgasm is concerned than those who did not engage in premarital coitus at all. The relevant data are shown in Tables 10-1 and 10-2.

More recent data tend further to confuse the significance of the Kinsey findings. A study of 80 virginal college women, 40 non-virgins who had experienced orgasm, and 40 non-virgins who had not, using the Adams Marital Happiness Prediction Inventory, reported a low, positive correlation between marital virginity and high predicted marital happiness, as earlier studies had, and also predicted sexual adjustment in marriage; but no difference was found between the non-virgins who had and who had not experienced orgasm (4).

In the next three arguments, the con or conservative argument is put first and then demolished, leaving the impression that the pro side is right. The first conservative argument is that premarital sexual intercourse may result in unwanted pregnancy. Kinsey and his associates reply that the actual conception rate is extremely small--one pregnancy in a thousand copulations--and with modern contraception this hazard could be entirely eliminated (2, p. 327).

Another conservative argument is that premarital sexual intercourse fosters the spread of venereal diseases. Kinsey and his associates make essentially the same argument here; modern medical techniques can reduce these diseases to little importance (2, p. 327).

Premarital sexual intercourse has a bad psychological effect, filling girls with shame and guilt. Kinsey and his associates show that relatively few women state that they regretted premarital coitus (2, p. 345). They noted that the younger women reported more regret than the older women, but explain this fact away on the basis of the more limited experience of the younger women. "Initial regrets are often resolved as an individual matures and acquires more experience."

The point of the above demonstration is that even the manner of presenting material may bias the message. It would be possible for two teachers to present identical factual material and transmit quite different conclusions.

We implied above that different schools might require different approaches. In some, a permissive slant might be important; in others, a conservative one. Class is one factor that would determine the angle. Among the male students who are

TABLE 10-1

Percent of Women Who Fail to Achieve Coital Orgasm in Marriage, by Premarital Sex Experience (Adapted from Kinsey (2, Table 9, p. 406))

	Percent Failing to Achieve Orgasm in		
	First Year of Marriage	Fifth Year of Marriage	Tenth Year of Marriage
No Premarital Coitus	40	28	25
Premarital Coitus without Orgasm	56	43	30

TABLE 10-2

Percent of Women Who Almost Always (at least 90% of the time) Achieve Coital Orgasm in Marriage (Adapted from Kinsey (2, Table 9, p. 406))

	First Year of Marriage	Fifth Year of Marriage	Tenth Year of Marriage
No Premarital Coitus	29	31	34
Premarital Coitus without Orgasm	17	23	31

not preparing for college, a very considerable proportion (44.7%) have already engaged in sexual relations by the age of 15 and more than two-thirds (68.3%) have done so by the time they graduate, at age 17. Their peer-group culture has encouraged it and they are not likely to be influenced one way or another by school discussion of the subject. They are not likely even to raise the question. The college-preparatory male students show less experience; only 9.5% by age 15 and 23.1% by age 17. Their peer-culture is probably less supportive of premarital coitus; they may really be anxious for guidance.

The class differences in the attitudes of young males--those under 25 years of age--toward premarital sexual relations may be summarized from the Kinsey findings as shown in Table 10-3.

TABLE 10-3

Attitudes of Males on Pre-marital Intercourse
at Two Educational Levels
(Adopted from Kinsey (1, p. 364))

Restraints on Intercourse	Educational Level 9-12	 13+
Moral objections	22.8	62.5
Fear of public opinion	12.0	21.5
Fear of pregnancy	18.6	28.0
Fear of venereal disease	23.8	25.1
Lack of opportunity	37.5	51.4
Lack of interest in having more	45.1	18.7
Desire to marry a virgin	40.8	50.7

The "regret" argument against premarital coitus is most persuasive in a religious setting, for the proportion of devout women, especially Catholic women, who expressed regret was greater than for others (p. 345). Kinsey and his associates also note that if there is guilt or regret, it is the result of the cultural taboos and not of anything intrinsic in the act itself.

The pedagogical problems involved are also compounded by sex differences. As compared to the boys, relatively few of the girls will have engaged in premarital coitus when the high-school teacher meets them--five percent by the age of 15 of those who will not be going on to college and two percent of those who will, and perhaps 15 and 11 percent respectively by age 17 (2, p. 333).

And even these, only very infrequently. What they want from the young men is not coitus but affectionate attention. Most are sexually quiescent in the genital sense; they are extremely sensitized in the socio-sexual sense. Most of them are probably hoping for support from the teacher in withstanding the pressures from the boys for intercourse. They want to know how they can retain the interest and attention of the boys without "going all the way." Morality plays a large part in their thinking, as shown by the following Kinsey-based table.

TABLE 10-4

Attitudes Toward Premarital Coitus by Females
(Adopted from Kinsey (2, p. 344))

Attitudes of Restraint	Responses Given			
	Yes	More or Less	No	
Moral objections	80	9	11	
Sexual unresponsiveness	32	13	55	
Fear of pregnancy	21	23	56	
Fear of public opinion	20	24	56	
Lack of opportunity	14	8	78	
Fear of venereal disease	5	9	86	
	Yes	No Preference	No	Undecided
Desire to marry a virgin male	23	42	32	3

It should be noted that permissiveness tends to favor the boys, conservatism, the girls. If the permissive arguments are made too persuasive it will be at the expense of the girls; if the conservative arguments, of the boys.[2]

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[2] The fourth Kinsey criterion--"the actual damage that such activity may do to the social organization" (Ibid., p. 330)--is not here discussed in detail. It is extremely difficult to make societal factors significant to young people. What possible significance can their private, individual sexual intercourse have for society as a whole? The sociology of the so-called Protestant Ethic (which, of course, many Catholics share) seems extremely remote. Why does our society depend on the discipline imposed by delayed gratification when so many cultures around the world can permit premarital sexual relations without any damage at all? There was a time when the argument that our civilization was "paid for" by inhibiting many human impulses--so called "sublimation"--was persuasive. But many young people

It should be clear by now why it is impossible to lay down unequivocal rules for dealing with the $64 question. The achievement of healthy sexuality in one situation may call for one approach, in a different situation, for another. If there is a rule it is probably that doctrinaire dogmatism has no place in helping young people work their way through to a mature standard of sexual behavior.

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today--especially those of the anti-establishment school of thought--have come to challenge this point of view and general affluence has blunted its point. This is an argument for sexual discipline but it is not likely to be useful with high-school students.

REFERENCES

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2. Kinsey, A. C., *et al*. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, Philadelphia, Saunders, 1953.

3. Kirkendall, L. A. *Premarital Intercourse and Interpersonal Relationships*, New York, Julian Press, 1961.

4. Shope, D. F., and Broderick, C. B. "Level of Sexual Experience and Predicted Adjustment in Marriage," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 29, August 1967, pp. 424-427.

It would be a mistake to assume that sex values and practices were alike in all social groups. Quantitative data from the Kinsey report and other studies have shown that different social groups have different patterns. Here Rainwater reports on an attempt to get at qualitative as well as quantitative differences between groups. We lack the data to know how general the patterns he found are among the power groups of this society, but this research clearly underlines the necessity for awareness of subcultural differences.

CHAPTER 10

SEX IN THE CULTURE OF POVERTY[1]

Lee Rainwater

An article dealing with lower class sexual behavior would be expected to describe a group of happy God-forsaken sinners who derive a great deal more sexual gratification in their society than do middle class respectables in theirs.[2] However, the little empirical research which examines lower class sexual behavior--and, more important, lower class subjective responses to sex--tends to support quite a different view.[3] Since we have fuller comparative information on sexual relations within marriage for lower, working and middle class couples, we will examine sex within the context of marriage first.

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[1] This chapter appeared originally as "Some Aspects of Lower Class Sexual Behavior," Journal of Social Issues, 22, April 1966, pp. 96-108.

[2] John Dollard has analyzed some of the attitudes that white Southerners have toward Negroes, which compound both the positive and negative views of lower status naturalness. In his analysis he perhaps took somewhat too seriously the notion that lower class Negroes gain from the greater sexual freedom allowed them by the caste system (6). Allison Davis, an insufficiently appreciated pioneer in the study of lower class cultures, seems to have been similarly taken in by the myth: "In the slum, one certainly does not have a sexual partner for as many days each month as do middle class married people, but one gets and gives more satisfaction over longer periods, when he does have a sexual partner" (5, p. 33).

MARITAL SEXUALITY IN THE LOWER CLASS

At all class levels, marital sexual relations provide the major source of sexual outlet for most men and women during their sexual careers. In all social classes also, marital sexual relations are considered the preferable and most desirable outlet. Other sources of outlet are most often seen by their seekers as compensations or substitutes rather than really preferable alternatives. We start, then, with a comparison of the ways husbands and wives in the lower, working and middle classes evaluate marital sexuality, the attitudes they have toward sexual relations, and the gratifications and dissatisfactions they find in these.

The material which follows is drawn from a larger study (18, 20) which examines marital sexuality as part of the family context for family size decisions and family limitation behavior. The study is based on interviews with 409 individuals--152 couples, and 50 men and 55 women not married to each other. Thus 257 families are represented. The respondents lived in

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[3] The shift to a more jaundiced view of the happy impulse-free version of lower class sexual life is paralleled by a similar shift in the understanding of lower class delinquency. Bordua, in comparing the work of Frederick Thrasher in the 1920's with that of Walter Miller, Albert Cohen, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, comments, "All in all, though, it does not seem like much fun any more to be a gang delinquent. Thrasher's boys enjoyed themselves being chased by the police, shooting dice, skipping school, rolling drunks. It was fun. Miller's boys do have a little fun, with their excitement focal concern, but it seems so desperate somehow. Cohen's boys and Cloward and Ohlin's boys are driven by grim economic and psychic necessity into rebellion. It seems peculiar that modern analysts have stopped assuming that 'evil' can be fun and see gang delinquency as arising only when boys are driven away from 'good'" (1, p. 136).

Chicago, Cincinnati or Oklahoma City and were chosen in such a way as to represent the social class range of whites from upper-middle to lower-lower and Negroes at the upper-lower and lower-lower class levels.

Men and women were asked to discuss their feelings about their sexual relations in marriage, the gratifications they found, the dissatisfactions they had, the meaning of sex in their marriages and the importance it had to them and to their spouses.

One dimension emerging from the answers to all of these questions can be thought of as a continuum of interest and enjoyment in sexual relations, which ranges from very great interest and enjoyment to strong rejection. The range is most apparent among women, of course. Men only rarely say they are indifferent to or uninterested in sexual relations, but women present the gamut of responses from "if God made anything better, He kept it to Himself," to "I would be happy if I never had to do that again; it's disgusting." On the basis of each individual's response to all of the questions about sexual relations he was classified as showing either great or mild interest and enjoyment in sex, slightly negative feelings about sex, or rejection of sexual relations. Table 1 presents the results on this variable by social class. (Since there were no differences between the upper and lower portions of the middle class, these groups were combined in the tables.) It is apparent that as one moves from higher to lower social status the proportion of men and women who show strong interest and enjoyment of sex declines. Among men the proportion showing only mild interest and enjoyment increases as one moves to the lower-lower class level. Among women the proportion who are slightly negative or rejecting in their attitudes toward sexual relations increases systematically from the middle to the upper-lower to the lower-lower class. (There is a small but consistent tendency for Negroes in the lower-lower class to show somewhat more interest in sex than similarly situated whites.)[4]

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[4] It should be noted that the careful and detailed study of blue-collar marriages by Komarovsky (13) reports that there were no differences in sexual enjoyment between higher and lower status wives within the working class (status educated by high school education or less than high school education). I have an explanation for this difference in findings between two studies which parallel each other in most other respects, but the readers should be aware of Komarovsky's contrary findings (see especially pp. 93-94). However, the less educated wives did view sex as more of a duty, and refused less often.

TABLE 1

The Lower the Social Status, the Less Interest and Enjoyment Husbands and Wives Find in Marital Sexual Relations

	Middle Class	Upper-Lower Class	Lower-Lower Class
Husbands			
Show great interest and enjoyment	78%	75%	44%
Mild interest and enjoyment	22%	25%	56%
Number of cases	(56)	(56)	(59)
Wives			
Great interest and enjoyment	50%	53%	20%
Mild interest and enjoyment	36%	16%	26%
Slightly negative toward sex	11%	27%	34%
Reject sexual relations	3%	4%	20%
Number of cases	(58)	(68)	(69)

It would seem, then, that social status has a great deal to do with the extent to which couples manage in marriage to find sexual relations a valued and meaningful activity. This result is consistent with the findings of the Kinsey studies (9, 14, 15). For women the Kinsey study reports that erotic arousal from any source is less common at the lower educational levels, that fewer of these women have ever reached orgasm and that the frequency for those who do is lower. For men, the pattern is less clear-cut as far as frequency goes, but it is apparent that fore-play techniques are less elaborate at the lower educational levels, most strikingly so with respect to oral techniques. In positional variations in intercourse, the lower educational levels show somewhat less versatility, but more interesting is the fact that the difference between lower and higher educational levels increases with age, because positional variations among lower status men drop away rapidly, while the decline among more educated men is much less. This same pattern characterizes nudity in marital coitus.

The lesser elaboration of the sexual relationship among lower class couples which this suggests is apparent in our qualitative data. The longer the lower class man is married, the more likely he is to express a reduced interest in an enjoyment of sexual relations with his wife, as well as indicating reduced frequency of intercourse. In the middle class, while reduced frequency is universally recognized, there is much more of a tendency to put this in the context of "the quantity has gone down, but the quality gets better and better." An examination of the very small body of literature dealing with attitudes toward and feelings about sexual relations in lower class populations in other countries suggests that this pattern is not confined to the United States (16, 19, 25, 26, 27).

Having observed that lower class husbands and wives are less likely than are middle class ones to find sexual relations gratifying, we become interested in why that should be. The major variable that seems related to this class difference concerns the quality of conjugal role relationships in the different classes. In this same study we found that middle class couples were much more likely to emphasize patterns of jointly organized activities outside the home, while working and lower class couples were much more likely to have patterns of role relationships in which there was greater emphasis on separate functioning and separate interests by husbands and wives. Following Bott (2) we have classified couples who show a fair degree of separateness in their conjugal role relationships as highly segregated, those who show a very strong degree of joint participation and joint involvement of each in the other's activities were characterized as jointly organized. Those couples who fall between these two extremes we have characterized as having intermediate segregation of conjugal role relationships. Very few working or lower class couples show the jointly organized pattern, but there is variation in the intermediate to the highly segregated range. When the influence of this variable on sexual enjoyment and interest is examined, we find a very strong relationship.

Table 2 indicates that it is primarily among couples in highly segregated conjugal role relationships that we find wives who reject or are somewhat negative towards sexual relations. Similarly, it is primarily among couples in less segregated conjugal role relationships that we find husbands and wives who express great interest and enjoyment in sexual relations.

These results suggest that the lower value placed on sexual relations by lower class wives, and to a lesser extent by lower class husbands, can be seen as an extension of the high degree of segregation in their conjugal role relationship more generally. The couple emphasizes separateness in their other activities; therefore separateness comes to be the order of the day in their sexual relationship. Since the wife's interest in sex tends to be more heavily dependent upon a sense of interpersonal closeness and gratification in her total relationship with her husband, it is very difficult for her to find gratification in sex in the context of a highly segregated role relationship.

TABLE 2

Lower Class Couples in Highly Segregated Conjugal Role Relationships Find Less Enjoyment in Sexual Relations

	White Couples		Negro Couples	
	Intermediate Segregation*	Highly Segregated	Intermediate Segregation*	Highly Segregated
Husbands				
Great interest and enjoyment	72%	55%	90%	56%
Mild interest and enjoyment	28%	45%	10%	44%
Number of cases	(21)	(20)	(21)	(25)
Wives				
Great interest and enjoyment	64%	18%	64%	8%
Mild interest and enjoyment	4%	14%	14%	40%
Slightly negative toward sex	32%	36%	18%	32%
Reject sexual relations	--	32%	4%	20%
Number of cases	(25)	(22)	(22)	(25)

*Includes the few jointly-organized couples.

Close and gratifying sexual relationships are difficult to achieve because the husband and wife are not accustomed to relating intimately to each other. It may well be that a close sexual relationship has no particular social function in such a system, since the role performances of husband and wife are organized on a separatist basis, and no great contribution is made by a relationship in which they might sharpen their ability for cooperation and mutual regulation. Examination of the six negative cases in our sample, that is, those in which despite a highly segregated role relationship the wife enjoys sex a great deal, indicates that this comes about when the wife is able to bring to the relationship her own highly autonomous interest in sex. To the extent that she is dependent upon her husband for stimulation, encouragement and understanding on the other hand, she seems to find frustration in sex.

Husbands whose wives do not enjoy sexual relations are not particularly comfortable about this fact and in various ways either express some guilt, or try to conceal the state of affairs from both themselves and the interviewers. However, they seem to do little to correct the situation. Husbands in segregated relationships consistently overestimate the degree of gratification that their wives find in sex. Thus, half of the men in highly segregated relationships indicated that their wives enjoyed sex more than the wives themselves indicated, compared to only 21% of the men in less segregated relationships.

Lower class men in highly segregated relationships seem to make few efforts to assist their wives in achieving sexual gratification, and place little emphasis on the importance of mutual gratification in coitus. For example, while 74% of the lower and working class husbands with intermediate relationships give some spontaneous indication that they value mutual gratification in the sexual relationship, only 35% of the husbands in segregated relationships speak of mutual gratification. It is not surprising, then, that a considerable number of wives complain about their husbands' lack of consideration. Forty percent of the wives in segregated relationships spontaneously indicate that their husbands are inconsiderate of them in connection with sexual relations, compared to only 7% of wives in intermediate relationships. Similarly, 38% of those in highly segregated relationships spontaneously indicate that they consider sex primarily as a duty, compared to only 14% of the wives in intermediate relationships.

These differences among classes, and within the lower class between couples in intermediate and highly segregated role relationships, continue to appear when the focus of inquiry is shifted from degree of enjoyment of sexual relations to the question of the psychosocial functions which people think sex serves for them. Two common themes stand out in the ways couples talk about what sex "does" for men and women. One is that sex provides "psychophysiological" relief--it gets rid of tensions, relaxes, gives physical relief ("It's like the back pressure on a car that you have to get rid of.") and provides sensual pleasure in the form of orgasm. The other theme emphasizes, instead, the social-emotional gratifications that come from closeness with the partner, a growth of love, a sense of oneness, of sharing, of giving and receiving. Almost all of the respondents who mentioned one or the other of these functions mentioned the physical aspect, but there is quite a bit of variation in whether this is mentioned by itself or in combination with social-emotional closeness. Table 3 provides distributions by class and role relationship of the relative emphasis on these two themes.

TABLE 3

Lower Class Couples in Highly Segregated Conjugal Role Relationships See Only Psychophysiological Pleasure and Relief in Sexual Relations

		Lower Class	
	Middle Class	Intermediate Segregation	Highly Segregated
Husbands			
Socio-emotional closeness and exchange	75%	52%	16%
Psychophysiological pleasure and relief only	25%	48%	84%
Number of cases	(56)	(40)	(31)
Wives			
Socio-emotional closeness and exchange	89%	73%	32%
Psychophysiological pleasure and relief only	11%	27%	68%
Number of cases	(46)	(33)	(22)

The findings emphasize further the fact that one of the main differences between the middle class and the lower class, and within the lower class between couples in intermediate and highly segregated role relationships, has to do with the extent to which the sexual relationship is assimilated with other aspects of the on-going relationship between husband and wife. It seems very clear that in the middle class, and among those lower class couples with conjugal role relationships of intermediate segregation, the sexual relation is seen as an extension of an overall husband-wife relationship which emphasizes "togetherness," mutual involvement and give-and-take. In the lower class, among couples in highly segregated conjugal role relationships, on the other hand, the sexual relationship is isolated from aspects of the husband-wife relationship and stands in sharp contrast to these other aspects because it requires concerted cooperation on the part of the two partners. Other data showed that in a great many cases, the wife's response is to cooperate only passively, by making herself available when her husband "wants it." In a few cases the wife is able to bring her own autonomous psychophysiological needs to sexual relations and find enjoyment in them.

LOWER CLASS NON-MARITAL SEXUAL RELATIONS

We have much less systematic knowledge of lower class attitudes and customary behaviors concerning non-marital sexual relations than for marital sexual relations. We do know, however, a fair amount about the incidence of non-marital sexual relations from the Kinsey studies as this varies by social status (educational level). The considerable literature dealing with lower class adolescent peer groups also provides some insight into the place of premarital sexual relations in the peer group activities of young lower class boys and girls.

From the Kinsey studies of white males and females it seems clear that before the age of 20 both lower class boys and lower class girls are much more likely to have premarital coitus than are middle class boys and girls. However, even lower class girls are not as likely to have premarital sexual relations as are middle class boys; the overall cultural double standard seems to operate at all class levels. Further, after the age of 20, status seems to influence premarital coitus in opposite ways for men and women. After that age middle class girls are more likely than lower class girls to have premarital relations, perhaps because the lower class girls are so quickly siphoned off into marriage, while lower class boys continue more frequently to have premarital relations.

From the Kinsey studies, we know that there are very great differences between white and Negro females in the extent to which they engage in premarital coitus. While the social class influence is the same in both groups, in the teens the level of exposure to sexual relations is on the order of three to four times higher for Negro girls than for white girls. Thus, while at age 20 only 26% of white grammar school educated girls have had premarital sexual relationships, over 80% of comparable Negro girls have.

These findings concerning premarital coitus are consistent with the impressions one gains from literature which deals with the peer group systems of white and Negro lower class adolescents and young adults (3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 19, 21, 24, 29). In the white lower class there is a great deal of emphasis on the double standard, in that white lower class boys are expected to engage in sexual relations whenever they have an opportunity, and pride themselves on their ability to have intercourse with many different girls. Making out in this fashion is turned into valuable currency within the boys' peer groups; there is much bragging and competition (leading to not a little exaggeration) among white slum boys about their sexual conquests.

The girls' position in this group is a much more complex one. White slum groups tend to grade girls rather finely according to the extent of their promiscuity, with virgins being highly valued and often protected, "one man girls" still able to retain some respect from those around them (particularly if in the end they marry the boy with whom they have had intercourse), and more promiscuous girls quickly put into the category of an "easy lay." In groups, then, although boys are constantly exposed to stimulation to engage in sexual relations, efforts are made to protect girls from such stimulation and even to conceal from them elementary facts about sex and about their future sexual roles. Mothers do not discuss sex with their daughters, and usually do not even discuss menstruation with them. The daughter is left very much on her own with only emergency attention from the mother--for example, when she is unable to cope with the trauma of onset of menses or seems to be getting too involved with boys. When women at this level assess their premarital knowledge of sex, they generally say that they were completely unprepared for sexual relations in marriage or for their first premarital experiences, that no one had ever told them much about sex and that they had only a vague idea of what was involved. There is little evidence that in this kind of white lower class subculture many girls find the idea of sexual relations particularly attractive. Although they may become involved with fantasies of romantic love, they seem to show little specific interest in sexual intercourse.

In the Negro lower class the clear-cut differences between the amount of sexual activity respectively permitted girls and boys (and men and women) that seem to obtain in the white lower class are absent. Indeed, at age 15, according to the Kinsey results, more grammar school educated Negro girls have experienced coitus than white boys; this is also true at the high school level. With over 60% of *grammar school* educated Negro-girls having had intercourse by the age of 15, and over 80% by the age of 20, it seems clear that within the Negro *slum* community, whatever the attitudes involved, lower class Negro girls are introduced to sexual relations early and, relative to white girls, engage much more frequently in sexual relations once they have started. There are well-established patterns of seduction within Negro slum communities which Negro boys employ. They are sharply judged by other boys and girls on their ability to employ these techniques, and boys show considerable anxiety lest they be rated low on these skills. As is well known, this higher degree of sexual activity leads to a high rate of illegitimacy.

These bare behavioral statistics might lead one to believe that among the lower class *Negroes*, at least, there is a happy acceptance of premarital sexual relations, somewhat along the line of the natural man myth discussed above. However, *close* observation of ghetto peer group activities of late adolescent and early adult Negro males and females indicates that such is not the case (4, 11). In the first place, attitudes toward sexual relations are highly competitive (among own sex peers), and heavily exploitative (toward opposite sex). Slum Negro boys typically refer to girls, including their own "girl friends" as "that bitch" or "that whore" when they talk among themselves. Negro girls who do engage in sexual relations in response to the strong lines of the boys who "rap to" them often do not seem to find any particular gratification in sexual relations, but rather engage in sex as a test and symbol of their maturity and their ability to be in the swim of things. Over time a certain proportion of these girls do develop their own appreciation of sexual relations, and engage in them out of desire as well as for extrinsic reasons. However, it seems clear that the competitive and exploitative attitudes on both sides make sexual relations a tense and uncertain matter as far as gratification goes. In discussing marital sexuality we noted that the high degree of conjugal role segregation seems to interfere with achieving maximum gratification in sexual relations. A parallel factor seems to operate in connection with premarital relations. That is, because of the culturally defined and interpersonally sustained hostilities that exist between the sexes, it seems difficult for both boys and girls to develop a self-assured and open acceptance of sex for the pleasure it can provide, much less for a heightened sense of interpersonal closeness and mutuality. When one seeks to study the meaning and function of sexual relations in such a very complex situation as the Negro lower class community, one becomes aware of how much more subtle and ramified the issues are than can be captured in the traditional categories of sex research.

THE FUTURE OF SEX IN THE LOWER CLASS

As the working class has attained greater prosperity and a sense of greater economic stability since World War II, there seems to have been a shift from traditional working class patterns of a high degree of conjugal role segregation and reliance by husbands and wives on their same sex peer groups for emotional support and counsel. Elsewhere Handel and Rainwater (12, 13) have discussed the increasing importance of a modern working class life style among those working class families who are in a position to partake of the "standard package" of material and social amenities which represent the common man's version of the "good American life." We have seen that among those couples who have a lesser degree of conjugal role segregation there is a much greater probability of a mutual strong interest in sexual relations and an emphasis on sexual relations as an extension of the socio-emotional closeness that is valued in husband-wife relationships. We can predict, then, that shifts in the direction of greater cooperation and solidarity based on interpenetration of family role activities in marriage will carry with them an increased intimacy in the sexual sphere. This greater mutuality is both an expression of and functional for the increased self-sufficiency of a nuclear family, in which working class husband and wife now rely less on outsiders for support and a sense of primary group membership and more on each other. In this sense a "good" sexual relation between husband and wife can be seen as one of the major strengths of the adaptable nuclear family which Clark Vincent has argued is necessary for our kind of industrial society (28).

But what of those members of the lower class who do not participate in the increasing prosperity and security which the great majority of the working class has known for the past 20 years? In recent years there has been mounting evidence that sex-related pathologies of the Negro slum ghetto community--for example, the rate of illegitimacy, venereal disease, drug encouraged prostitution (4, 17)--are increasing rather than decreasing. It seems clear that so long as the socio-economic circumstances of slum Negroes do not improve, we can expect only a worsening of a situation in which sexual relations are used for exploitative and competitive purposes. There is much less clear-cut evidence concerning white slum groups; it may well be that the rates for the same sex-related pathologies show lesser increases because the white poor are not confined to ghettos which serve to concentrate the destructive effects of poverty, but instead tend to be more widely dispersed in the interstices of more stable working class neighborhoods (24).

In short, though we see some evidence to support the notion of a "sexual renaissance" with respect to marital sexuality in the modern working class, we see no such evidence with respect to the less prosperous lower class.

SEX RESEARCH IN THE LIGHT OF LOWER CLASS SEX BEHAVIOR

It is probably not unfair to say that efforts to study sexual behavior scientifically have been plagued by an obsessive preoccupation with the terms of the larger public dialogue on the subject, and with the value conflicts and contradictions evident in that dialogue. Thus researchers who investigate sexual behavior have often been motivated by an effort to determine whether sex under particular circumstances is good or bad, or whether particular customs interfere with pleasure or are conducive to it. While these are legitimate concerns, they have tended to distract social scientists from an effort simply to understand sexual practices in their full human context. We have suggested that a close examination of lower class sexual behavior tends to disprove certain widely-held stereotypes--themselves not unknown in social scientists' own attitudes. But more important, the study of lower class sexual behavior emphasizes the importance of trying to understand that behavior both in the immediate context of relevant interpersonal relations (marital relations, peer group relations, etc.), and in the context of the structural position of the actors, and the stresses and strains that position engenders. Such an understanding can only come about through careful empirical research which does not take for granted supposed "facts" about the actors involved, but rather explores these interrelations empirically.

Once we have an adequate picture of the sexual behavior of individuals in a particular situation, we can begin to ask questions about the role of this sexual behavior in connection with other aspects of the individual's interpersonal relations. We can ask what the functions of particular forms of sexual behavior are for the individual and for the groups to which he belongs. More psychologically, we can ask, and not assume in advance that we know, what goals the individual seeks to effect through particular kinds of sexual behavior. It seems to me that this is the real legacy of Freud for the study of sexual behavior. Freud sought to show that sex is not simply sex, but a complex form of behavior built out of elements which extend genetically back into dim childhood history, and cross-sectionally into other vital interests which the individual seeks to maximize and protect. Just as any other applied field of social science profits from a wide application of contending theoretical paradigms, so the study of sexual behavior would profit from a more liberal application of the diverse conceptual tools at our disposal.

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Sexuality, it is becoming increasingly clear, is far--very far--from being merely a biological phenomenon. It is equally a social-psychological and a sociological phenomenon. A human being with a female body can mate and give birth to an infant; but she has to learn how to be a wife and mother. Roles are as important as bodies in human sexuality. Masculinity is not the same today as it was in the nineteenth century when, for all intents and purposes, it was identical with aggressiveness; nor is femininity the same as it was. The sex roles are undergoing drastic changes in our day. And the achievement of healthy sexuality depends as much on coming to terms with roles as with body functioning. Sex education therefore has to do with roles as much as with bodies. Nelson Foote charts some of the issues here.

CHAPTER 11

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

Nelson N. Foote

A perceptive member of the upcoming college generation tells me that the fate of masculinity is a burning issue among women as well as among men, because the fate of femininity is inextricably intertwined with the fate of masculinity.

The perils of momism have been noticed and decried for some years by our domestic critics. European and other foreigners have likewise been commenting critically for some time on the weakness of American males of both the younger and the older adult generations, that is, the disoriented adolescent and the hen-pecked middle-aged husband, both of whom seem pushed around by women. These problems, however, continue to unfold. Any description of the situation needs to be continually updated, and that is our purpose here.

WOMEN LEAD, MEN LAG

As my informant quite badly puts it, girls her age have conquered the dangers of pregnancy and of being without an income. In these respects they are far freer than their forebears. They have at last almost achieved the freer and more equal sexual role in society, toward which the general ideals of freedom and equality have led them, and which contemporary circumstances increasingly afford. Many of them feel more capable of achieving real intimacy with the opposite sex than were their mothers. But like their mothers they want to marry and have a family. And here is where their achievements of intimacy and independence run into difficulty, because the redefinition of the masculine sexual role has not kept pace with the redefinition of the feminine sexual role. The active element in this sequence of development of relationships--the prime mover in change--has been the female. But the assertion of the demand for intimacy by women does not by itself make men out of boys; it may even complicate their problem of becoming men. Hence many young women are troubled over the question of whether they might have caused the crisis in masculinity by pressing too hard or too soon, thus adding still further complications to the situation. That is, they wonder if they are at fault, or if the mothers of both are at fault.

Despite the prevalence of these trepidations on the feminine side, my informant takes the realistic view that the adoption of contraception and economic independence by women is not going to be reversed, but will go forward beyond the point already reached. Therefore the problem is correctly stated as how to bring the redefinition of the masculine role up to match their own development and aspirations.

As yet she does not feel that men have seriously undertaken the redefinition of the masculine role in our society. Moreover, young men who individually grope for solutions to their concrete problems run into numerous obstacles and false solutions. Homosexuality appears, for example, to be rising among men (although not among women). Toward homosexuals, she says, "I feel sorry now, although I do not accept it as the way it should be. It represents failure. I no longer feel hostile or suspicious, maybe deriving from feeling more assured of my own female identity."

Neither among faculty nor staff of colleges is there as a rule any suitable person who will tell boys how to become men, nor even where to find out. By maintaining the belittling practice of using grades as the principal measure of worth, housing and feeding students in sex-segregated groups in dormitories, and requiring full-time attendance (which forestalls the experience of earning a living), the colleges in effect stand in the way of a contemporary redefinition of masculinity instead of aiding in the process. Much of the current unrest and discontent of young people in the colleges arises in part from this frustration of the needed redefinition and achievement of adult masculinity. The emerging college generation is thus thrown back, by default of the colleges, upon its own resources. It may yet prove the author of its own salvation, but in the course of proceeding unaided through the tribulations of fashioning contemporary and convincing sexual identities for themselves, the casualties are probably going to be numerous.

We shall return to our informant and to more specifics of masculinity and femininity and their intercontingency but, before we do, it seems worthwhile to step back from the immediate arena to make a basic observation about the broader historical and environmental context. The young person facing adulthood today shares with all previous generations the main elements of the familiar dilemma of dependence versus independence. Becoming an adult entails great gains and great losses, so nicely and powerfully opposed as to justify the term dilemma. But as with all previous generations the young person today must also cope with some new elements in the situation, the unique, emerging fringe of changed circumstance which distinguishes his time and place--and ultimately himself--from all others. Hence the problem of becoming an adult can never be fully and finally generalized and universally prescribed. To the person engaged in this transition, while the difference between his way and his parents' may be small, it is the difference which makes all the difference between whether it is his way or their way.

Let us recognize that the dilemma exists on the other side of the relationship with their parents as well. Parents are ambivalent about the development of independence by their children, during their years together and even afterwards. There are gains and losses for the parent as well as the child in whether and when the child becomes an adult. The more the parent cares about the child, the more concern he feels about whether, let alone, the child will decide wisely on his own. Thus he is tempted to intervene to guarantee a good outcome by making decisions for the child--if not overtly, as cautioned against by the experts, then by bribery, cajolery, concealment or disparagement of alternatives, or subtler forms of disapproval or dismay. Yet it seems axiomatic, even redundant, to insist that adulthood consists of being able to decide for oneself.

One of the important differences between the situation of young persons becoming adults at present and that of earlier generations is the much higher availability of factual knowledge about not only sexual physiology but also the pleasures of sexual experience. Perhaps in earlier, more sequestered communities, parents could prevent children from engaging in sexual experience before marriage simply by keeping them in ignorance. At this date, efforts to suppress such information seem merely irrational squeamishness or hypocrisy to the young. Even the efforts of educators to break down remaining barriers to the dissemination of reliable information about sexual physiology--a kind of mopping-up operation following a battle already won--has an old-fashioned, dated quality in the eyes of modern young people. Sex information in that sense may be what the parents needed and did not get when they were young, but the real front into which the more advanced elements of the upcoming generation are moving has a different terrain. And here the parental prejudices which threaten open discussion of the burning issues--and may keep them outside the formal curriculum just as effectively as in the past--may be just as anxiety-provoking as ever. Specifically controversy over the age at which the so-called facts of life should be presented in the elementary schools at this date seems mild and tame alongside whether to guide high school and college students into discussion of what is happening to masculinity.

For many centuries masculinity has been identified with physical strength, military bravery and aggressiveness, even brutality. Nowadays, however, these characteristics are out of place most of the time. Except for a dwindling minority, male occupations in the advanced countries are white-collar pursuits, which put no premium upon physical strength. Warfare is predominantly fought by technicians, who are not required to engage in the traditional military tasks which demand raw courage and endurance of pain and hardship. Despite the wars in Korea and Vietnam, these trends have accelerated since World War II. The chances that a man will be killed today in direct combat are much less than the chances that he will be killed in an auto crash. As William H. Whyte pointed out several years ago in _The Organization Man_, a man can live his whole life in the secure environment of this country and never have occasion to find out whether he is a coward or not, in this traditional sense of physical cowardice.

In the past men have tended to conceal their tender feelings. This was a part of the definition of the masculine role as hard and unfeazed, but in practice it meant that men were awkward, shy, and quite uncomfortable in a situation where exposure of feelings was in order--were embarrassed to show affection, grief, disappointment, appreciation of beauty, or even ordinary pleasure save in limited amounts, lest they seem unmanly. As with the names of colors, most men of the older generation suffer a dearth of vocabulary for describing either their feelings or their relations with other people. The image of taciturnity has been common among traditional male heroes in our culture. Affection has been rendered by overt actions, which is parents could prevent children from engaging in sexual experience before marriage simply by keeping them in ignorance. At this date, efforts to suppress such information seem merely irrational squeamishness or hypocrisy to the young. Even the efforts of educators to break down remaining barriers to the dissemination of reliable information about sexual physiology--a kind of mopping-up operation following a battle already won--has an old-fashioned, dated quality in the eyes of modern young people. Sex information in that sense may be what the parents needed and did not get when they were young, but the real front into which the more advanced elements of the upcoming generation are moving has a different terrain. And here the parental prejudices which threaten open discussion of the burning issues--and may keep them outside the formal curriculum just as effectively as in the past--may be just as anxiety-provoking as ever. Specifically controversy over the age at which the so-called facts of life should be presented in the elementary schools at this date seems mild and tame alongside whether to guide high school and college students into discussion of what is happening to masculinity.

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Whyte's book incidentally, documents in many ways the observation that aggressiveness tends to be increasingly out of place in contemporary America, whereas the ability to get along congenially with other people is now what it takes to survive in the employment market. Once more, let us repeat, we are referring to a marginal change, a change in emphasis, not a black-and-white replacement of one set of virtues for another. It is likely that there will always be a few occasions left in social life where physical strength and bravery and aggressiveness will be demanded of men, but the day when the ordinary citizen has daily need of these kinds of prowess is well behind us. Persons who desire to live dangerously must join the armed forces or the police, or take to crime itself--as some of course do. The occupations of the majority require virtues of other kinds. (The philologically-inclined will note the derivation of the word virtue.)

Traditional expressions of masculinity remain available in the present, while newer expressions are emerging, and represent a conservative set of standards toward which the panicky revert when under pressure of challenge and self-doubt. The boy who joins the Marines in order to bolster his confidence in his masculinity is a familiar case in point. The more violent forms of sport may likewise perform this function. Symbolically, the firing of guns at animals or people seems to offer a boost to the morale of some men who find themselves humiliated by their everyday experiences at work or at home or in their communities. A few writers of fiction and drama, and a few literary critics, make plain from time to time the meanings of these gestures. The teacher in the humanities who carries the application of such observations to real life, however, is rare. Yet it would be a very thin kind of sex education indeed which failed to point out the infinite ways in which men of all ages seek to realize their images of masculinity.

Coming down to sexuality itself, there are many received traditions of the male role, in our culture as well as others. In some male sub-cultures, the sheer physical satisfaction of sexual intercourse itself remains the model for achievement. In others, prowess in seduction. In still others, being attractive to and admired by women, without proceeding to seduction. During the past two decades, some quite distinctive notes have been struck, more and more publicly, which gauge a man's masculinity primarily by his ability to provide sexual satisfaction for his partner.

Simultaneously, a separate but related ideal has become more and more widespread, of companionship between sexual partners, both before marriage and after marriage, in the home and out of the home. The social segregation of the sexes has been dissolving quite rapidly except among the more conservative segments of society. Not only do couples accompany each other in more and more activities of the typical day but with the upgrading of income and education there has been a general increase of joint sociability outside the home, which means more couples accompanying other couples, primarily friends of similar ages and interests, rather than relatives. Sports like skiing and boating, which support this pattern of sociability, are far more popular than in the past.

Co-education has become nearly universal, at all levels of schooling. Architects no longer design separate entrances for girls and boys. Out of co-education--especially at the college level--is emerging an even more advanced form of companionship, termed colleague marriage by certain sociologists, in which husband and wife work together as well as play together and share the tasks of home and family.

The older division of labor between men and women was largely derived from the requirement of physical strength for the tasks assigned to men. As this requirement of physical strength has diminished, the mixing of men and women in the same occupations has steadily widened. Whether it was necessary or not--and it probably was necessary at a much earlier period, when most male work was performed out of doors--the division of labor between men and women inside the home and outside the home was obviously two sides of the same coin. But when women can and do perform the same work outside the home as men, there is far less reason for the previous division of labor inside the home to remain. The principal reason that it survives is simply that the husband still is employed outside the home, even though women may be capable of doing the same work, and the majority of married women are still not employed outside the home. The proportion of married women employed outside the home, however, has been rising so rapidly since World War II that in a few more years we can expect the Bureau of Labor Statistics to announce that non-working wives are in the minority. In fact, the BLS did announce in late 1966 that 50% of a sample of 1957 women college graduates were found working.

As women go to work, the question of who should perform which household tasks--husband or wife?--gets raised in tangible form in millions of homes. Some of the older definitions of masculinity and femininity are being subjected to intensive challenge in this context, from which extensive change can be expected to emerge as new patterns get recognized and stabilized, communicated, taught and learned. In the household where both husband and wife work, and where the children observe and criticize the solutions found for the problems presented, the next generation is forming its notions of how it will live. Here, by the way, is an easy avenue of entry into discussions with students of future models of masculinity and femininity.

We can be sure that masculinity in its future manifestations will as always represent various kinds of complementarity with femininity; each set of characteristics and virtues will continue to differ from the other, and the differences will continue to be prized. But of what will the newer differences consist, as the older differences dwindle? And what will happen to sexuality when the division of labor outside the home has dwindled further and in turn has diminished the division of labor within the home? To what extent do male and female sexuality as we have known them depend upon retention of the traditional complementarity of masculine and feminine social roles?

Some of the signs of change visible among the younger generation directly challenge traditional expressions. Pants on women, long hair on men, are conspicuous symbols of rejection of received customs. But let us note the difference between these particular manifestations of changing masculine-feminine symbols of sexual role and those of, let us say, the 1920's and 1930's, when certain so-called feminists began to invade a few of the occupations hitherto reserved for men. Those were the days of the "battle-axes"--women who cut their hair short, wore tweed suits of masculine cut, began to smoke, and even lowered their voices by an octave in order more closely to resemble the men whose privileges they wished to acquire. The colorful pants women wear today are exceedingly varied, but any observer would have to concede the femininity common to nearly all of them. Partly it is their color, partly their cut, partly the choice of fabric, partly their imaginative and ever-changing diversity of style, partly their relation to the other items of clothing and coiffure which make up the ensemble. All in all, the fact that women can now enjoy the comfort and convenience of wearing pants when it is comfortable and convenient to wear them means they enjoy rights formerly denied. But they no longer have to give up their femininity to enjoy these rights. Instead, the boundless ingenuity of millions of them, and of the manufacturers who serve them, has been unleashed to invent infinite variations on the theme of femininity in pants. If human imagination can produce such a cornucopia of expressions of femininity utilizing such an unpromising medium as this simple garment, we have as yet only a glimpse of how far the theme of femininity can be elaborated when women begin to take over the design of the offices in which they work, the cars they drive, the houses they live in, the other goods they buy.

But where should we look for answers to the question of how masculinity might be expressed sexually in a set of relations wherein masculinity is no longer defined mainly in terms of strength, bravery and aggressiveness, and femininity in terms of weakness, timidity and passivity? When no women are any longer segregated, dependent and inferior, what then is masculinity going to look like?

If we think of those members of the younger male generation who demonstrate by the other signs and symbols of their masculine roles that they have departed from traditional definitions--by their longer hair, their interest in the arts and politics, their disinterest in business and competitive striving, their companionship with the other sex, their antagonism to war, their delight in conversation in a group--and wonder about their sexuality, the question almost answers itself. Their free and open interest in sexual experience, the matter-of-factness of their discourse about it, the separation they make between sexual experience and procreation, are breathtaking to many members of the older generation. What happens privately, however, remains private, between the man and the woman, rather than being the topic of boasting in male gatherings, as was more characteristic of a generation ago. Where men of the past generation oscillated in their attitudes between squeamishness and prurience, one never far from the other, the younger generation of men seems closer to a unified, positive attitude of appreciation toward the joys and values of sex. Men want masculinity, just as women want it for them. They want to integrate it with their social roles in education and occupation, just as women are succeeding in doing. The question before the majority is not the direction in which to go, but how to get there.

Let us return to our informant. Looking at the boys of her age, she notes several specific circumstances that have to be dealt with. First of all, in the co-educational college, her friends among boys tend to be much more closely of her own age than in earlier decades. And at the same age, say 21, the girl seems to herself further developed toward adulthood; the boy seems younger by comparison. Secondly, while the girl is still being supported by her parents just as the boy is, it is a bigger burden on the self-esteem of the boy to remain dependent, because one of the foremost tests of masculinity traditionally has been the man's ability first to support himself, then to provide a home for his wife and family. Another informant--a boy who is a classmate of the first informant--tells me that some boys get married to prove they are adults, but then are disconcerted to find that having to remain dependent upon parents after getting married is even harder to bear. Having their wives work to support them, which would mean for the wives to quit school to do so, although a practice found among graduate students, is thus especially troublesome for undergraduate men to accept.

The boy who simply goes from high school into college, even if he moves away from home, does not experience this qualitative change in economic self-sufficiency which tells him he is an adult and no longer an adolescent. Self-support may not be an absolute requirement, but in its absence there must be an adequate substitute. Boys who have dropped out of school a year, for example, and have either been successful in a full-time job or somehow discovered their true vocation, often come back to school feeling their manhood established in this respect. Likewise those who plan to remain in the university in graduate or professional school, not out of indecision or to evade the draft, but because advanced study represents a definite vocational plan, less often suffer the incubus of financial dependency. Among the dwindling segment of young people who do not go to college, and at 19 or 20 years of age are already supporting themselves, this problem is not so visible. But among dropouts or graduates from high school who do not get established in an occupation, it is much more acute than among college students. The threat to masculine identity is most serious of all when the traditional masculine roles have decayed, and not even a hint exists of where and how to look for new ones. Unemployed young males in this situation would be ideal recruits as storm troopers abroad or on the home front, and on either side of the line.

The gravest aspect of the matter for the male college student is not the economic dependency upon his father but the widespread emotional dependency upon his mother. And it is this relationship which most disturbingly impinges upon his girl friend. What she too often finds out is that, just as in moving without a qualitative change from high school to college, he too often moves from being mothered at home to being mothered by his girl friend or his wife. All the women he has known may have sheltered him, with the result that he has not learned how to play the role of strong protector himself.

There are many aspects to masculinity, and there will be many in the future. For purposes of analysis, it may be helpful and may not overly strain reality to simplify discussion by confining it here to what is meant by strength. The virtue of strength was pre-eminent in the thinking of my informant, and she says that it is pre-eminent in the thinking of other college girls. They want strength in their men. They do not in most cases want mere physical strength in the traditional sense. The man who can only resort to his muscles and fists when strength of other kinds is required is at best a comical figure. At worst, his ways of dealing with his wife and children may have tragic consequences, as in the murders of wives and children by husbands in certain immigrant groups, when their manhood is threatened by American conditions. What is masculine strength in non-physical terms? Groping for a solution, some boys try to manifest masculinity by acts of daring, such as motorcycle riding or breaking the law. Some girls do in fact respond to these manifestations with excitement, but the counterfeit, suicidal nature of such gestures sooner or later shows through, and they subside.

Strength in the non-physical sense--moral strength--means many things in particular situations, and is manifested in many ways. It would be foolhardy and presumptuous to attempt here to devise for a generation of many millions the varied patterns of expression by which they will exhibit moral strength. That occasions for its employment are ample, however, is readily demonstrable. The ordinary white-collar employee, for example, has daily need of moral strength in order not to succumb to fear of the boss. Seeking a new job takes great courage. It takes self-respect and self-confidence to face up to mistakes, to abandon failing enterprises, to seek out opportunities and make drastic changes in one's way of life. It takes moral strength to exercise responsibility for one's group and community, to assert one's ability to influence his environment instead of surrendering to it, to make one's voice heard when he has something important to say.

Too many fathers do not tell their sons about their work because they are ashamed of their work and the humiliation it imposes upon them. Too many of them are not willing to challenge the system that forces them to live as only half-men. It is not surprising that many boys do not identify with their fathers when the fathers are loth to present themselves as models. It is not merely that fathers work away from home--that is not a sufficient explanation of estrangement from their sons. The girl can identify with her mother, but the boy wants another model. There is a myth that the man who is pushed around at work compensates by coming home and lording it over his wife and children. The facts of the matter, if there were some way of obtaining truthful data, in my opinion would prove to be the opposite: the subservient employee is subservient at home--although he may also be tyrannical in his dependency. Powerlessness and impotence are not synonyms, but neither is emasculation entirely a figure of speech. It may give European critics some quiver of superiority to disparage American men for their weakness, but they do this from the standpoint of a conservative tradition which--except in England--is still relatively strong, even among those who have shed some of its externals. By the time European men have encountered the crisis of masculinity which is common here, however, American men may be well up the mountain on the other side of the valley. We see omens already in the rejection many young men exhibit of the empty way of life in which personal worth is evaluated only by status in a hierarchy, rather than by the value of one's product. Their widespread seeking for worthwhileness in their vocations is a very good sign that young men, especially in the colleges, see the connection between society and family, work and worth, social role and sexuality. They want to be men, and the more perceptive among them recognize that in certain ways they must seek adulthood in ways different from their fathers.

The great dynamic of family life is just this criticism of one generation by the next, the decision to raise one's own children differently from the way one was raised himself. Playing the role of father poses tests of masculinity more rigorous than playing the role of husband. But despite the separation between sexual experience and procreation, in the sense of contemporary acceptance of contraception, and perhaps even because of it, the decision of a man and a woman to produce a child together is far more conscious, deliberate, purposeful and serious than ever before. The decision to have a child is becoming more of a commitment--in earlier times, one would have said sacrament--than ever before. Marriage can be regarded as to some extent experimental, with no great harm done if the experiment fails. But nowadays more and more the having of children is regarded as the real commitment which marriage itself used to represent. The Scandinavian pattern of deferring marriage until after pregnancy, while of traditional origins, assumes a peculiarly contemporary significance in this perspective, and may come to constitute a model to young people in other countries. Certainly many young people whose parents separated while their children were growing up have suffered from that situation and have vowed not to subject other human beings to it, preferring not to have children until they can feel fully confident of providing them a harmonious and joyous family environment. That is, the phenomenon of widespread marital breakdown during the past few decades has taught many children that the best gift they can offer their children when they grow up is the advantage of a happy marriage between their father and mother. Hence we can surmise that the paramount expression of masculinity, which is to be a good father, especially toward one's son, is also a goal toward which the new generation is groping.

We thus come to the conclusion that, just as sex education comprises far more than sex information, family life education comprises far more than sex education. And masculinity and femininity are not to be achieved in the prevailing environment without a great deal of clarification of their interdependence inside and outside the family. We have suggested that education in general, as presently conducted in schools and colleges, at various points impedes and frustrates the redefinitions of masculinity and femininity which are needed. Much more than education will be required for these redefinitions to be completed. The implication that employment practices must be changed far more extensively than hitherto envisaged is evident. But here we must limit ourselves to a few more implications for the conduct of education.

Within the past several years, the proportion of male teachers in public high schools in the United States began to surpass the number of female teachers. Thus far these numbers remain comparable, and from the standpoint of sex education among high school students, it seems desirable that the ratio remain about half and half, ideally in every high school, so that pupils during adolescence might be exposed to models of both sexes, because teachers, next to parents, are probably the most influential adults in the social development of students. In the co-educational colleges, of course, women faculty members are extremely scarce--a deficiency needing rapid correction, which may happen if male college teachers become much harder to hire.

The never-ending task of education is to get from the transmission of mere words to the learning of ways of life. Long ago, school teachers were commonly male, but a generation ago the typical high school teacher was a spinster. Not only were male teachers scarce, but female teachers who married and had children of their own were scarcer. During the depression, married women were often driven out of teaching in order to open their jobs to others who, as the saying went, did not have husbands to support them. Nowadays by contrast bachelors and spinsters are regarded almost with suspicion; people wonder why they remain unmarried. While this expectation that the normal adult will marry may put unfair pressure upon a few who do not, from the standpoint of presenting students with models of adult people to emulate, the trend toward employment of married teachers can only be welcomed. Students take intense interest in courtships and marriages among their teachers. They seem to recognize that teachers who have children of their own show more understanding of students in certain respects than do teachers lacking parental experience. It seems very likely that the combined weight of the examples set by all their married teachers will have more impact upon students than whatever may be taught in a formal way about sex and the sexes in a separate course in the curriculum. Hence in terms of ultimate effect it may be far more important to introduce special attention to sex education into the training of teachers than into the curricula of students. Certainly unless ways can be found to imbue teachers with high degrees of enlightened self-awareness about the impact of their example upon the behavior of students, it seems likely that what some specialist concentrating upon the transfer of mere information about sex can accomplish will be petty by contrast.

Instead of the old image of the coach or physician who calls the boys together at the principal's request to tell them the so-called facts of life, or the newer image of the social scientist reciting statistics from surveys, let us imagine the male teacher of English in a high school, who has explicitly accepted it as a part of his responsibility to help both his male and his female students to clarify their standards for judging masculinity and femininity among themselves. How can he face the clear-eyed gaze of his students unless he is honest and objective toward his own attitudes and behavior? Faced with the task of portraying in both fact and fiction the peculiar problems of maintaining masculinity in the modern world, the teacher of literature who tried to confine attention to the physical facts of life would be guilty of evasion. For example, how can one express any attitude whatsoever toward the non-hero of Rabbit, Run by John Updike without revealing as much about himself as about the principal character? Yet of the books I have read in recent years, few are so apt for use in education about the realities of the relation between occupation and sex role. Here indeed are laid bare the genuine perils of failure in manhood and womanhood as few parents could ever present them--a book that cries for discussion by the very audience we have in mind. The repetitious mischief of the characters in John O'Hara's novels appears dated and unimportant by contrast. Yet if there were time it would be instructive for a teacher to take a class through a comparison of the generations represented by these two authors, because O'Hara has as sure an ear for the Twenties as Updike has for the Sixties. Imagine a discussion of how the role of the father could be played as heroically in contemporary circumstances as in Karl Rolvaag's Giants in the Earth. So superior in terms of application to real life and to criticism of real life is the study of novels like these that any other approach to sex education, except the role-playing of life situations, seems inferior and, again, evasive. The use of fiction, like the use of role-playing, permits each individual to come right up to the kinds of problematic situations that his education is hopefully preparing him to handle. While always leaving open an exit to retreat from anxiety, through keeping these situations ostensibly fictional, entry to objectivity, autonomy and control is also made available through presenting hypothetical alternatives to reality.

Young people today, especially in the colleges, are demanding that what they study be relevant to their lives. This does not mean that it be simply vocational training. It means particularly that it relate to the many tasks of living they face, in the present as well as the future. Even with regard to vocation, it means they want education which will enable them to judge truly and confidently the relative worth of the various kinds of employment open to them, and not just their income potential. They want in fact what liberal education is supposed to be in theory, the ability to understand and criticize and shape the world they are receiving. The moment is therefore propitious for bringing more squarely into the curriculum the consideration of what masculinity and femininity should mean in practice today. Delegating this matter to narrow specialists would be not only an evasion of the very large responsibility implied by stating this task, but would prolong the rising frustration of this generation with the irrelevance of much that they are handed. In this sense, the renewed plea that is being made for sex education in the schools is representative of a wider need for relevance in education. It will thus succeed or fail in concert with this wider groping current among students. On the other hand, well articulated and led, and supported by sympathetic members of the older generation, the movement for sex education could well serve as the spearhead of the demand for more relevance in education in general. Its proponents, therefore, have everything to gain from making common cause with the champions of relevance in other fields and from demanding large changes rather than small concessions from the upholders of past practice.

We have referred to the teaching of English, but we could equally well refer to the teaching of mathematics and science, languages and social studies. One of the unpublicized scandals of American education is the degree to which young women are not merely discouraged from entering the technical fields based on science and mathematics, but are persuaded early in life that they are incapable of doing so, and go through years of schooling convinced that they cannot learn science and mathematics. Every teacher of such subjects should in good conscience struggle against this superstition every day of his teaching career, should contest it openly and explicitly as part of his obligation as a teacher. But he will not be very successful in doing so, to repeat an earlier point, unless he himself in his training has been taught to confront it and to struggle with the question of whence these emotional blocks and attitudes emanate. The same task devolves upon every teacher of foreign languages who has male students who suffer from the reverse assumption that only girls are good at languages. Social studies seem to escape somewhat the prejudice that learning them is the peculiar prerogative of one sex or the other, but this fact itself seems highly appropriate to include in discussion of learning problems among students of both sexes. The education of teachers, we have said, is not complete without their sex education, and, we might add, their sex education is not complete without some awareness of the peculiar variations that occur between the sexes among the various fields of learning. None of these relationships is fully understood at present. Who can say why women have become great musicians but none have so far become great composers? Why have they done better as novelists and poets than as dramatists? It is remarked again and again that women in general seem quantitatively higher in empathy than men, yet in the arts, where empathy is so highly demanded, women seem to have lagged in creativity. Or are these merely further examples of the discrimination so long practiced against the participation of women in occupations outside their homes?

We started with the observation made by our informant that women have been the first to move toward a new definition of their sex role. As she put it, their new relationship of intimacy with men is the result of their increasing ability to assimilate their active femininity, to coordinate career and marriage. She indicated that many young women worry over whether to blame themselves, whether they have become too strong, whether they should try to help their boys become men by going back to being more passive, sweet and dependent. But we concluded that going back is unworkable and unrealistic. Instead the boys must go forward, developing the strength to command the respect and love of modern young women. It is only as men find new sources of moral strength for mastering their social environment that they will succeed in establishing their new definition of masculinity. And only if men succeed in this can women become more secure in their new definition of femininity.

In the process of development of society, the mighty themes of masculinity and femininity have exerted far more powerful effects in human history than the conventional historians who specialize on wars and empires have seemed to realize. Beneath the noise of conquest and defeat has evolved the long spectacle of human creativity. When manhood and womanhood come to be defined more fully in terms of what they create, when man and woman each has become the perfect audience for the distinctive performance of the other, then it may become justified, as some recent writers have suggested, to speak of a sexual renaissance.

We end this volume on values with Christensen's cool sociological analysis of the place of values in society and in science. He illustrates his theoretical point with data from three diverse groups of college students: those from the conservative, largely Mormon Intermountain culture, those from the Midwestern secular American culture, and those from the liberal Danish culture.

CHAPTER 12

THE IMPACT OF CULTURE AND VALUES[1]

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No individual lives entirely alone. He spends most of his time in groups and is a member of the larger society. What he thinks and does, and how he feels, are to a considerable extent determined by the social environment around him. His interactional experiences, and the culture in which they take place, mold his personality and give direction to his behavior. Furthermore, he in turn, exerts some influence over society. Man is a part of the group and the group is a part of man; he both influences others and is influenced by them. As Charles Horton Cooley pointed out about a half century ago, the individual and society are but two different aspects of the same thing (4). In view of this, the claims of certain people that "what we do is our own business," and their occasional attempts to "go it alone," just don't make sense.

A basic element of every culture consists of the _mores_, or moral standards. These are the prescriptions and proscriptions that the society considers of great importance to its welfare; hence, society surrounds the mores with positive and negative sanctions--rewards and penalties. Another name for the mores is _norms_. When the norms become internalized within the individual he is said to hold _values_ and to have a _conscience_. Values are the individual counterparts of group norms.

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[1] This chapter is adapted from an article "Scandanavian and American Sex Norms: Some Comparisons, with Sociological Implications" in the _Journal of Social Issues_, 22, 1966, pp. 60-75.

Succinctly stated, values are the criteria one uses in choosing among alternatives. Though closely related to beliefs and to attitudes, they are not precisely the same as either. A belief is the conviction that something is real or true. An attitude is an internal state of the personality that pressures toward action; it is a "tendency to act." But a value is a standard of preference, a criterion for judging the relative worth or importance of things, ideas, or events. Values tend to be checked against beliefs and, in turn, to form the undergirding for attitudinal states; nevertheless, by themselves, values are simply the standards or criteria used in decision making.

Within the context of family living, people may be said to value such things as: respect for parents, husband-wife equality, absence of divorce, control over number and spacing of children, fidelity to the spouse, and premarital chastity--or some modification of these and other standards. The positions one takes on the various value issues that confront him will depend to a considerable degree upon the way he was reared and the nature of the cultural norms that were a part of his environment. And, just as cultures differ, so do persons vary in their value positions; furthermore, cultures and personalities change over time. It may be possible to derive from these diversities certain relationships and regularities that can serve as guidelines for decision making. This is the aim.

The discussion to follow will focus upon the phenomenon of premarital sex, with a view toward testing the value variable as it relates to both behavior and the consequences of behavior. It will draw heavily upon the writer's own cross-cultural research, but using this merely to test the general model. It is toward a general theory of value relevance that we hope to build. Our belief is that such a theory, applied to the sex problem, may help clear the muddied waters and make moral decision less difficult.

THE PRINCIPLE OF VALUE RELEVANCE

There probably is less consensus over sex values today than at any other time in history. The simple folk cultures of the past, with their clear and homogeneous norms, have given ground to complex civilizations such as our own, where change and heterogeneity are the order of the day. Old norms are being challenged and weakened without any real agreement as to what the replacements shall be. Hence, more is left to the individual conscience, and in that there is great diversity.

ARGUMENTS OVER SEXUAL MORALITY

Opinions range all the way from regarding sex as basically evil and at best tolerated for purposes of reproduction, to looking at it as essentially good and demanding of maximum expression both in and out of marriage. There are, of course, more moderate positions in between these two extremes.

The Judeo-Christian Tradition. American sex norms have been rooted in the Christian movement, which, in turn, had its beginnings among the ancient Hebrews. The Hebrews regarded woman's sex functions as impure and coitus outside of marriage as a grevious sin--especially for a woman, who, when she offended, was sometimes stoned to death. With Christianity came a slight softening of the code but also the addition of new elements. It was Saint Paul who promulgated the notion that celibacy is preferable to marriage, through conceding that if one cannot contain himself "it is better to marry than to burn" (I Corinthians 7:79). The notion that sex is sinful became particularly strong during the middle ages and it was then that celibate religious orders had their greatest development. With the Reformation, these interpretations became less harsh. Nevertheless, the code that was transplanted to America carried with it many restrictions: sex was regarded suspiciously, as a prime source of evil, at best to be tolerated and only then within marriages and chiefly for purposes of reproduction.

Within the Judeo-Christian tradition, it has been enough to say that "God has spoken." The source and the rationale for the chastity norm it has promoted has been the concept of divine will. Followers of this tradition have not felt compelled to "prove" their position, only to believe and obey.

The So-Called "New Morality." But the Industrail Revolution has ushered in an "Age of Science" and, in the spirit of the day, people are questioning and looking for proofs--even in the area of sexual behavior. Furthermore, since science sets the tone or style for this modern era, many people now don't want to appear godly or to be labeled moralists; they prefer to "play it cool" and to be thought of as being rational, objective, and progressive. It almost appears as if the "suspended judgment" value of science is for many resulting in a non-involvement stance in regard to community affairs.

There is, of course, a large number of factors which explain the shift over the last half century or so toward more liberal sex codes: the demoralizing effects of modern war, the newer freedoms given to women and youth, the invention of the automobile, the perfecting of contraception, the barrage of stimulation coming from the mass media, et cetera. Certainly, also, the recent Supreme Court decisions against censorship have had an effect. We simply list these developments without elaboration and without judgment, but with the realization that they all interrelate and that they get their impetus from the secular tone of this modern age.

At any rate, the lid is off. Today almost anything goes--in print, in speech, in entertainment, in behavior. Pornography (at least all but the very "hardest" of the hard core) is readily available. There are "filthy speech movements" and "free sex movements" in different parts of the country. There are topless entertainers. There are mate-swapping clubs. Hour restrictions for coeds and regulations against mixed-sex visiting in dormitory rooms are being lifted on many college campuses. Dress is more casual and more revealing. Dancing is less inhibited. Petting is more public. All in all, it is as if a pendulum had been released and swung far to the opposite side before settling to a more moderate balance; some of today's sex practices are extremes, which are not shared by the majority and which may prove to be but temporary--though of this last one cannot be sure.

For many, the new morality is essentially a "fun morality." They welcome the newer freedoms for the opportunities these bring to engage in personal thrills or "kicks." Sometimes the behavior is thought through and well rationalized, but often it is defended simply on the basis that enjoying oneself is good--and that, since sex is fun, just about all sex is good.

There are, of course, serious and responsible scholars who take the liberal position. Typical of these was the late anthropologist, Bronislow Malinowski (5). He argued--not for complete sexual freedom to be sure--but for limited and regulated coitus outside of marriage nevertheless, justified on two counts: (1) providing, through trial and error, a safer method of selecting a marriage partner; and (2) serving as a safety valve, actually making marriage more stable by draining off some of the cruder sexual impulses and separating these from the sentiment of affection between the spouses. Whether Malinowski was right or wrong is beside the point here. At least he challenged the notion of inherent rightness or wrongness of sex outside of marriage, and helped open the way for objective inquiry.

At the level of popularization in the mass media, Playboy Magazine stands out. It is a sophisticated approach to sexual freedom and enjoyment. The "playboy philosophy," developed in a long series of articles by the editor, Hugh Hefner, attacks conventional morality and attempts to build a rationale for sex outside of marriage. The photographs play up the semi-nude female figure, and these, together with the jokes and many of the articles, drive hard on the theme that sex is fun.

Absolute Versus Relative Values. What has been said up to this point makes it amply clear that in the contemporary world two opposing value systems are battling it out. On the one hand, there is the traditional Judeo-Christian position of absolute or ultimate values: sex outside of marriage is wrong, period. In this view, nonmarital sex is intrinsically wrong, because God has said so; the justification transcends the reach of man; there is no need for proof and no room for argument. On the other hand, there is the relativistic or situational position: the rightness or wrongness of nonmarital sex depends upon the conditions surrounding its occurrence. In this view, morality depends not upon something intrinsic to the act nor something imposed from the realm of the supernatural, but rather upon the overall effects of the behavior within a specific setting; and, since effects can be expected to vary with the situation, the moral dimensions of a given act will be different at different times and places.

To the traditionalist holding absolute values, the new morality is nothing more than the old immorality. To the modernist holding relative values, it is the rigid insistence upon chastity that is immoral, both because he thinks that self-denial under certain circumstances may work against emotional health and because he sees the arbitrariness of the position serving to stulify free enquiry. In this age of science, it is the modernist (relativist) who seems frequently to have the better of the argument--simply because his approach is more in line with the dominant themes of the day. (This is an observation not a value judgment.)

But, does one need to choose between the absolutistic and relativistic positions? Isn't it possible that some values are absolute and others relative? Or, that a given act has both absolutistic and relativistic components? Perhaps the Christian moralist should welcome the supporting hand of the scientist, for his scripture tells him "By their fruits ye shall know them" (Matthew 7:20); and, if this is so, the scientist should be able to throw new light on religious problems by definitively measuring cause and effect sequences (i.e., the "fruits"). Perhaps, also, the scientist needs better to recognize his limitations, realizing that generalizations must not go beyond the data, and that his data are limited to observations through the five senses. When the scientist demonstrates the relativity of certain effects he does not, by this process, prove that everything is relative.

Support for this view is to be found in a recent article by F. Ivan Nye (7). Nye distinguished between what he called intrinsic values, where things are valued for their own sake, and instrumental values, where things are valued for their effects upon desirable outcomes. This dichotomy is, of course, essentially the same as the absolutistic-relativistic value positions described above. Nye, while recognizing the difficulty of identifying intrinsic values, did name several which he would consider in this category: life itself, freedom from chronic pain or discomfort, freedom from severe fear or anxiety, freedom to make choices, and the condition of loving and being loved. He claimed that any given property can possess both instrumental and intrinsic value. He noted a movement over time toward more and more instrumental valuation of family behavior; and then left as his basic wish that this trend will continue--so that society can objectively weigh the changes needed for more effective functioning.

SCIENCE AND VALUES

It is the fashion these days for popular writers to exploit the subject of sex, due to the intrinsic interest it holds; and, perhaps partly as a reaction against this kind of sensational journalism, certain academicians tend to look down their noses at colleagues who deal with sex as a subject of professional interest. Nevertheless, no social scientist worth his salt is willing to be greatly influenced by either type of pressure: to jump on the bandwagon for the sake of popularity, or to dodge real issues at stake in order to protect his image. Science, almost by definition, requires its workers to pursue all available data that are relevant to the solutions of their research problems, and, secondly, to keep their generalizations within the limits of their data. When the scientist goes beyond his data, as he sometimes must, it is proper that his pronouncements be labeled something like "speculations" or "interpretations."

Science's Role in the Controversy.

Elsewhere the writer has outlined major dimensions of the scientific discipline:

> Science seeks to investigate systematically a phenomenon for the purpose of revealing its true nature. It is interested in both the properties of the phenomenon and the relations existing among these properties which explain the action or behavior taking place. Primary attention is given to relations among properties, since it is from these that the

> scientist is able to achieve his ultimate goal: prediction. He must rely upon information received through one or more of the five senses; his data, in other words, must always be empirical data, not mere hunches. Furthermore, the phenomenon must be studied objectively, not subjectively, so that his generalizations spring from the data alone and not from personal bias. If these two conditions hold--reliance upon empirical data and objectivity of the study methods--the generalizations can always be retested for the sake of verification. Thus, in time there can be built up a body of trusted knowledge and theory, so that, knowing the conditions of a phenomenon, it becomes possible to predict the probable outcome. Essentially, therefore, the attitude of science is that of value-free truth-seeking; the method is that of the objective analysis of empirical data; and the aim is that of predictive theory (1, p. 11).

And again:

> It is in the nature of science that generalizations spring directly and solely from the data examined, rather than from either the desires of the scientist or the pressures of society. Science seeks to discover _what is_ rather than what ought to be; it looks for _truth_, not proof; it cuts new trails, letting the chips fall where they may, rather than defending old ones or catering to vested interests (3, p. 970).

The term _morality_ is used commonly to designate conduct that is considered "good" or "right," frequently conceived in terms of absolutes. But questions of ultimates and absolutes lie outside the reach of science, and the best the scientist can do with them--in fact, all he can do as scientist--is to maintain suspended judgment and apply objective analysis. Assertion without evidence is the essence of dogmatism and the scientist as well as the religionist can be dogmatic, though to do so puts him beyond his data.

The controversy over values and morality has resulted in a great deal of name-calling, from both sides. The religionist-traditionalist has been prone to speak of those who possess a questioning mind as "worldly," or "liberal," or--when the thinking becomes completely irrational--even as "communists." The scientist-modernist, on the other hand, has been too quick to label those who incline toward absolutistic values as "visionaries," or "moralists," or even as "bigots." Now, there should be no objection to some of these terms so long as they are interpreted correctly. A liberal, for example, is correctly described as one who has a broad and enlightened mind; and a moralist is only one who is genuinely concerned with problems of right and wrong. But, in the opposing camps, both "liberal" and "moralist" have become dirty words: meaning, in the first instance, one who profanes the sacred; and, in the second instance, one who begs the question or refuses to face up to the evidence. It is the unjust connotations and emotional overtones sometimes attached to such labels that get in the way. It is just as unfair for advocates of "the new morality" to call those possessing a contrary opinion "moralistic" as it is for religionists to stigmatize and reject the man who thinks.

Though morality is popularly thought of in terms of absolute guidelines based upon eternal truths, this is not the only definitional possibility. As used here, the term encompasses any system of "right" and "wrong," whether it be based upon transcendental notions or empirical observations.

What can science add to the field of morals; and, if anything, at what points can it contribute? Can there be a sociological basis for decisions on proper behavior? If by "proper" is meant something that is intrinsically or eternally right, the answer to this last question is "no," but if the meaning is simply that the behavior lines up with group norms, and hence escapes the consequences of negative group sanctions, the answer is "yes." Though the sociologist cannot decide what is best in an absolute sense, he can determine what is most functional to the systems involved[2]--and hence help decide what is best in a relative sense.

It should be evident, then, that the task of the scientist is not to actually set up or affirm a moral system, not, in other words, to take a moral position--even one based upon empirical evidences--but only to determine cause and effect relationships which can aid the non-scientist (including the scientist in his non-scientist role as a citizen) in choosing criteria for moral decisions. The scientist, being confined to empirical data, cannot touch questions of absolutistic morality; nor can he, while in his professional role, make choices among the alternatives of relativistic (normative) morality. But he can clarify the alternatives and thus contribute _something_ to moral questions.

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[2] According to the structural-functional school, human activities tend to become organized into intra- and interdependent systems, which perpetuate themselves only by maintaining necessary degrees of balance or equilibrium. There are personality systems and social systems--and subsystems of each--all interrelated. When an activity is in harmony with, and helps to maintain a system, it is said to be functional; when the reverse is true, dysfunctional.

It is thus possible to use system maintenance as the criterion against which the propriety of behavior is decided. This essentially is what we mean by a normative morality.

The Meaning of Normative Morality. Normative morality is defined here as any code of right and wrong that is founded upon the operations of normative systems. It is more, however, than the particular systems standing by themselves; for only by knowing the ways in which these interrelate, and in which personal behaviors deviate from social prescriptions, and what the consequences of such deviations are, can there be any rational basis for moral decision. Thus, normative morality is relativistic rather than absolutistic. It attempts to put science in place of polemics and to see questions of right and wrong in terms of the measurable and variable consequences of the behavior involved.

Though the social scientist, as scientist, cannot make value judgments, he is entitled to study values as data. As a matter of fact, this is more than his privilege, it is his obligation. Note the following classical statements: "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so" (William Shakespeare); "The mores can make anything right" (William Graham Sumner); "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (W. I. Thomas). The values people hold tend both to shape their behavior and to determine the effects of this behavior upon themselves, upon others, and upon society at large. Values are intervening variables which for any genuine understanding must be taken into account.

Values as Intervening Variables. As will be demonstrated below, values affect both _behavior_ and the _consequences_ of behavior. Not only do people tend to act in accordance with the values they hold, but their actions will have differing consequences according to how well they conform or fail to conform to the values back of them. In this latter instance, the effects the values have are indirect and so the values must properly be regarded as intervening variables. The theory is that negative effects are in direct proportion to the amount of value-behavior discrepancy that is present.

A few illustrations may help make the point clear. There is research evidence: that it isn't so much size of family alone, as it is the extent to which size is controlled in line with desired size, that affects the marriage; that it isn't so much the fact of the mother working outside the home, as it is whether or not she wants to work and/or her husband approves, that affect both the child's development and the stability of the marriage; and that it isn't so much the level of living a family is at, as it is the discrepancy between this level and the standard of living (desired level), that produces the tension to which certain under-privileged families are subjected (3, pp. 994-995).

In other words, the values people hold represent important and relevant data for understanding and evaluating their behavior. The writer has called this basic fact the "Principle of Value Relevance," which he described as follows:

> In simplest terms, the principle of value relevance means that the values people hold are relevant to their behavior and to the outcome or effects of this behavior: in other words, it means that the family sociologist not only may but must deal with values as part of his data. What people believe, or perceive, or desire, or expect determines how they act and react in reference to the situations they face--even more so, very often, than the reality factors outside their mental-emotional systems.
>
> Values may be dealt with as dependent variables, shaped by forces outside the individual, such as family interaction; as independent variables which influence one's behavior and relationships, including that which takes place within the family; and as intervening variables, which are so because they intrude themselves into a process to affect both its direction and its outcome. Since the meanings attached to things and events depend upon the values people hold, it is this last named--values as intervening variables--which carries the most promise for the family researchers of the future (3, pp. 997-998).

AMERICAN SEX NORMS VIEWED IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

This section is to summarize the writer's research into premarital intimacy patterns compared across three cultures: sexually permissive Denmark, moderately restrictive Midwestern United States, and highly restrictive Mormon Country (Utah and surrounding states) in western United States. Selection of these particular cultures was in part motivated by the need for a wide range of norms and practices in order to test more reliably the effects of specific practices in relation to their norm (or value) settings. The data were gathered approximately 10 years ago by means of both questionnaires, administered to university students, and the record linkage technique, applied to samples of the general population.[3]

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE NORMS

The sex norms of Denmark are known to be highly permissive; those of Midwestern United States, moderately restrictive; and those of Mormon Country, highly restrictive. In Denmark--which is broadly typical of all of Scandinavia--sexual intercourse during the engagement is a tradition that goes back three or four centuries at least, and in recent years the practice has spread to include the "going steady" relationship; now as earlier, many Danes tend to wait for pregnancy before going ahead with the wedding. In the United States, including the Midwestern Region--which may be taken as a fair cross-section of the whole--chastity is the code; and this prescription, though frequently violated and though undergoing considerable liberalization in recent decades, is still the dominant norm, backed heavily by a strong Judeo-Christian tradition. In Mormon Country--which, of course, is part of the United States, but, because of the particular religious culture which pervades it, is unique in many respects--chastity is a highly institutionalized norm supported by strong positive and negative sanctions. With orthodox Mormons, "Breaking the law of chastity" is among the most serious of sins.

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[3] George R. Carpenter collaborated on the questionnaire phase of the research.

Ten separate journal articles reporting various aspects of this study have been published. This present chapter draws heavily from the most recent of these (see item number 2 in the list of references)--even to the point of using many sentences and paragraphs verbatim, with the publisher's permission.

Since this was a summary article, and since it listed all previous ones, it alone will be referenced here. Readers desiring greater detail--on either methodology or substantive findings--may first turn to that article and from it to the earlier ones.

Attitudinal Measures. Since norms tend to be internalized within the personality structures of those who make up the society, one would expect to see similar cross-cultural differences, to those just reported, in expressions of personal attitude. This is exactly what was found. Questionnaire returns from samples of university students revealed that Danish respondents, in comparison with others (2, p. 62):

1. Gave greater approval to both premarital coitus and postmarital infidelity.
2. Approved earlier starting times, in relation to marriage, of each level of intimacy--necking, petting, and coitus.
3. Thought in terms of a more rapid progression in intimacy development from its beginnings in necking to its completion in coitus.
4. Scored significantly higher on a Guttman-type scale, which combined ten separate additional items into a measure of "Intimacy Permissiveness."

Behavioral Measures. Furthermore, since a person's behavior tends to line up with his values (including internalized norms), it follows that behavioral items can be used as indicators of the norms which lie back of them. This approach also gave support to the differing cultural patterns previously described; specifically, Danish subjects, more than others (2, p. 63):

1. Participated in premarital coitus.
2. Went on to coitus from petting; that is, fewer of them engaged in terminal petting.
3. Confined premarital coitus to one partner, and had first experience with a "steady" or fiance(e); hence, were less promiscuous (this generalization holds for males only).
4. Gave birth to an illegitimate child.

5. Conceived the first legitimate child (postmarital birth) premaritally.

6. Postponed further conception following the wedding; hence, showed a low proportion of early postmarital conceptions.

In virtually all of the above attitudinal and behavioral measures, as well as with most others to be cited below, Mormon Country fell at the opposite or restrictive end of the continuum to Denmark, with Midwestern United States in between--though closer to the Mormon than to the Danish, which is why we have labeled it "moderately restrictive."

Summary Descriptions. Generally speaking, the normative system of United States includes early, frequent, and random dating; with a gradual narrowing of the field, a gradual development of intersex intimacy, the dealying of coitus until after the wedding, and the strong expectation of marital fidelity. These patterns differ, of course, from one subgroup to another, and the Mormon segment is known to be among the strongest adherents to convention and chastity. Individual variability is great and the trend over time is toward liberalization. Especially noticeable is an increase of coitus during the engagement, which is an alteration in the direction of Scandinavian practice.

In sharp contrast to the American system, is the Danish. There, dating (which is a relatively recent innovation) starts later, is less widely practiced, and is more likely to begin with a "going steady" arrangement and an expectation of marriage to follow. Furthermore, all levels of sexual intimacy are accepted once the relationship becomes firmly established; and the progression to complete intimacy is relatively rapid. As a matter of fact, the Danes do not draw a sharp line to set off technical chastity (as do Americans), but rather regard petting and coitus as belonging together, and see them both as appropriate in a relationship based on love and oriented toward marriage. Today, this kind of a relationship is most apt to be established with "going steady" in Denmark but not until the engagement in America. Actually, in Denmark both "going steady" and engagement mean more in terms of commitment and privileges than they do in America, and the wedding probably means less--relatively speaking. It is to be noted, therefore, that the greater sexual permissiveness of Denmark (and all of Scandinavia for that matter) does not necessarily imply greater looseness or higher promiscuity; intimacy is simply made more a part of the courting and marrying processes.

Nevertheless, it must be additionally observed that there seems to have been a spreading or generalizing of this marriage-oriented permissiveness to non-marital situations, for the Danes gave greater approval to all of our propositions regarding intimacy and also showed higher rates of illegitimacy.

Finally, though the recent trend in Denmark is toward the adoption of American dating patterns, and though the cultures on both sides of the Atlantic are moving toward convergence, differences in sex norms are still striking.

CONSEQUENCES OF NORM VIOLATIONS

Our cross-cultural data made it possible to test the hypothesis that negative effects will be greater when the behavior is out of line with the values (or norms).

Approval Compared with Experience. It was noted above that sexual behavior tends to line up with sexual norms in each of the three cultures: Denmark was most permissive and Mormon Country most restrictive with regard to both norms and behavior. But this tells us nothing of the relative proportions of individuals in each of the three cultures who violate their own values (internalized norms). To get at the latter, we compared for each culture percentages who approved premarital coitus with percentages who actually had experienced it. Here are the results (2, p. 64):

1. For Denmark, substantially more approved than had had experience.
2. For the two American samples, the reverse was true: substantially more had had experience than approved.
3. Of the American samples, this discrepancy between experience and approval was greater for Mormon Country.

Explanation for the Danish pattern probably lies in the permissive norms of that culture, coupled with the youthfulness and hence lack of marriage orientation of many of the respondents. (Recall that premarital intercourse in Denmark is more frequently tied in with love and commitment to marry; many hadn't yet reached that stage, though they approved of coitus for those who had.) Explanation for the American patterns, and most especially that of Mormon Country, probably lies in the restrictiveness of the culture, coupled with biological and social pressures upon individuals to violate the norms.

Thus, restrictiveness in a culture seems to cause proportionately more individuals to violate their own standards. This might logically be expected to result in more guilt, frustration, and maladjustment.

Reactions Concerning First Premarital Coitus. Males and females who had had premarital coitus were given an opportunity, by responding to a check list, to tell whether or not it was voluntary and to indicate their predominant feelings the day following the experience. The cross-cultural pattern which emerged was this (2, p. 65):

1. The proportion of those whose first coital experience was not "voluntary because of desire"--and, hence, was because of either a felt obligation or actual coercion--was highest in Mormon Country and lowest in Denmark.

2. The proportion experiencing guilt, remorse, fear, or other negative feelings subsequent to first premarital coitus was also highest in Mormon Country and lowest in Denmark.

Thus, both involuntary participation and negative reactions following the event were greatest in the most restrictive culture and least in the most permissive culture.

Effects of Pregnancy Upon the Wedding Date. Estimated dates of conception for first children in marriage were calculated by subtracting 266 days (normal period of uterogestation) from the date of birth. When these were plotted, the following distinct patterns for the three cultures showed up (2, p. 65):

1. In Mormon Country, the line climbed somewhat smoothly to its one peak located one month after the wedding, and then tapered off.

2. In the Midwest, the line became bimodal, with one peak two months before the wedding and then a second but higher peak one month after the wedding.

3. In Denmark, the line showed a single peak five months before the wedding--more first births were conceived then than at any other time, even than in the months following marriage.

The interpretation seems clear: in Mormon Country there is apparently enough pressure from the negative feelings accompanying premarital coitus alone to force the marriage; in the Midwest the tendency is to marry immediately after the pregnancy becomes definitely known (about two months from conception), to try to hide the fact and so escape public scorn; while in Denmark there is little or no pressure to hurry the wedding, even when pregnancy occurs first.

Effects of Pregnancy Upon Subsequent Divorce. By matching marriage, birth, and divorce records it was possible to arrive at divorce rates for various birth-interval categories. Comparisons of divorce rate differentials between the rather definitely determined premarital and postmarital conceivers revealed the following cross-cultural picture (2, pp. 65-66):

1. Premarital conceivers showed up with higher divorce rates than the postmarital conceivers in all three cultures, though in Denmark the difference was small.
2. Percentage differences by which divorce rates in the premarital exceeded those in the postmarital pregnancy groups were highest in Mormon Country and lowest in Denmark.

These findings seem to demonstrate that, though divorce-proneness is associated with premarital pregnancy, this relationship is strongest in restrictive societies: apparently permissiveness regarding premarital pregnancy tends to cancel out some of its negative effects.

Admittedly these measures of consequences do not exhaust the possibilities; yet they deal with crucial points and at least suggest what the outcome of a more comprehensive analysis might be. Here it is seen that the most permissive culture (Denmark) shows the least negative effects from both premarital coitus and premarital pregnancy: guilt and kindred feelings are at a minimum; there is little pressure to advance the wedding date; and the influence of these intimacies upon subsequent divorce is relatively small. Conversely, negative effects are in each instance greatest in the most restrictive culture (Mormon Country), with the more moderate culture (Midwestern) showing in-between effects.

It would seem that the negative consequences[4] of norm deviation tend to vary directly with norm restrictiveness--probably because deviation in the more restrictive societies represents a larger gap between norms and behavior; and, hence, constitutes a greater offense.

SOME ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

Up to this point we have described attitudinal and behavioral patterns across the three cultures and the relationship of effects or consequences to norm violation. Two other important questions have to do with cross-cultural differences in the male-female subcultures, and the degree to which it is possible to delineate cultural uniformities--or universals.

The Male-Female Subcultures. It would be profitable to know if the permissiveness or restrictiveness of sex norms in any way affect the convergence or divergence of male and female subcultures. Two findings from the cross-cultural research bear on this point (2, pp. 66-67).

1. The two extremes on our permissiveness-restrictiveness continuum, that is, Denmark and Mormon Country, showed the greatest convergence of male and female attitudes. Furthermore, proportionately more respondents from these cultures, and especially from the Danish, believed in a single standard of sexual morality.

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[4] Though we use the terms "effects" and "consequences," it is recognized that association is not the same thing as causation and that the latter has not actually been established. It is possible, for example, that with reference to divorce rate differentials a selective process is operating, which, in the restrictive Mormon culture could throw disproportionately more divorce-prone individuals into the premarital pregnancy category--*if* it should be that premarital pregnancy proneness and divorce proneness are linked within the personality--for the presumption is that cultural restrictiveness would tend to eliminate from premarital pregnancy those whose personalities are more conforming. The matter needs further study. Nevertheless, we would hypothesize that selectivity, if it exists, would account for only part of the explanation; that an importnat remainder would be causal.

2. When it comes to behavior, however, only the permissive culture (Denmark) showed a strong convergence of male and female patterns. As a matter of fact, the most restrictive (Mormon Country) tended to be the most divergent in this respect--a fact which, when combined with attitudinal homogeneity between the sexes, means, as pointed out earlier, that disproportionately large numbers there fail to practice what they profess.

Though explanations are not clearly within the data, there are some which seem plausible. As to attitude, we would hypothesize that the male-female convergence in Denmark is due to a freeing or liberalizing of the female, whereas in Mormon Country it is due to a taming or conventionalizing of the male--through stress on authority, conformity, and participation within the church, all of which is reinforced by a lay priesthood involving most male members 12 years of age and over. As to behavior, we would hazard the guess that in Denmark, where there is little stigma attached to premarital sex activity, behavior tends to follow the norms, and hence male-female similarity in attitude becomes male-female similarity in behavior also; whereas, in Mormon Country, where the standards set by the church may be somewhat utopian in nature, a stronger sex urge among males,[5] plus a pervasive double standard in the general culture, causes more males than females to violate the norms, which in turn increases the gap by which the two sexes diverge.

Cross-Cultural Uniformities. Science looks for uniformities in nature; out of analysis comes synthesis and general theory. In the spirit of science, sociology and kindred disciplines search for principles of human behavior that can be generalized over time and across cultures. But the social sciences also see the peculiarities of each culture and, recognizing this, adhere to a theory of cultural relativism. In the preceding pages we have observed ways in which sexual attitudes and behaviors and behavior consequences are relative to cultural norms. Nevertheless, _not everything is relative_. Certain relationships that hold to some degree in all three cultures have been suggested above--higher divorce rates among premarital conceivers, for example. There are many additional ones; and here are three, to illustrate (2, pp. 68-69):

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[5] Though male-female differences in _biological_ sex drive is open to some question and is in need of further research, there can be little doubt but that in our culture most males have stronger _learned_ sexual desire than do females.

1. Females are more conservative in sexual matters than are males, almost without exception and regardless of the measure used or whether it measures attitudes or behavior.

2. Approval of non-marital coitus, as applied to the premarital period, increases with each specified advance in involvement and/or commitment between the couple; but, as applied to the postmarital period, the reverse is true.

3. Premarital pregnancy is greater among young brides and grooms in contrast to older ones, among those who have a civil wedding in contrast to a religious one, and among those in a laboring line of work in contrast to the more skilled and professional occupations.

To repeat, each of the above statements is applicable to all three of the cultures studied: Danish, Midwestern, and Mormon Country. Though these items do not apply in equal strength to each of the samples, they do represent significant regularities that can be generalized.

We have demonstrated for the three cultures studied that sex patterns show both regularities and variabilities. If everything were regular, that is, generalizable across cultures, one could look to these universals as bases for a uniform morality;[6] or, if everything were culture bound, one could conclude that nothing is fixed and morality is entirely relative. The truth of the matter seems to lie between these two conditions.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In demonstrating how science can measure some of the effects of sexual irregularities, and thus provide a basis for moral decision, we have not wished to imply that the notion of absolute or ultimate values has been refuted. Neither has it been confirmed. Such a question is beyond the reach of the scientist. It should be clear, however, that the scientist can provide generalizations concerning relationships of variables that are *relevant* to moral issues; that he can study values as data, without making value judgments--and thus contribute *something* to the resolution of ethical problems.

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[6] Even if it could be demonstrated that the consequences of given sex acts are the same everyplace and at all times (which it cannot), the scientist still could not conclude that these effects are absolute, with implications of transcendental meaning--for he is bound to the study of empirical data. The scientist is within his sphere studying questions of universality, but this is as close as he must permit himself to get to questions of absolute or ultimate morality.

A relativistic (normative) sexual morality would judge acts in terms of their varying consequences. In the research dealt with here, we have found for the premaritally intimate in Mormon Country (the most restrictive of the samples) not only higher divorce rate differentials but also greater guilt and a stronger tendency to seek escape from conscience and social condemnation by hurrying up the wedding.

We have used Mormon Culture in our analysis in order to accentuate the contrasts. It must be kept in mind, however, that the average or more typical American culture has these same differences compared with Scandinavia, though to a lesser degree, and the explanations might be expected to be similar: United States has more terminal petting, younger ages at marriage, more guilt associated with premarital petting, a greater tendency to hurry the wedding when caught with pregnancy, a disproportionately higher divorce rate associated with premarital pregnancy, and so on. Some of the writer's Danish acquaintances have, in defense of their system, even gone further than these research points and suggested that the restrictiveness of American Culture--including its emphasis upon technical chastity while at the same time permitting petting--is resulting in larger proportions of such pathologies as cheesecake publications, hardcore pornography, prostitution, and homosexuality. Whether or not these asserted differences would hold up under research remains to be seen; they do make interesting hypotheses.

What, then, can be said about the relative merits of the Scandinavian and American sexual systems? Certainly nothing by way of ultimate judgment (unless one abandons science and accepts the tenants of transcendental morality). Seen in terms of behavioral consequences, which is the view of normative morality, there are both functional and dysfunctional practices within both cultures--some of which have been outlined above. But when a thing is recognized as dysfunctional, this judgment is only with reference to the normative system in which it exists; and whether, in order to obtain equilibrium, one should change the behavior to fit the system, or the system to fit the behavior, or some of both, is a question for the religionist or the philosopher, not the scientist.

In recent years, American sexual practices have been moving in the direction of the more liberal Scandinavian norms. Reiss, for example, characterizes the Swedish norm as "Permissiveness with Affection" and points out that this is the standard which has grown greatly in our own country over the last century (8, pp. 126-145). Some people argue that this will be the solution to our problems. It must be remembered, however, that consequences are relative to the systems within which the behavior takes place. The functionality or dysfunctionality of *American sex practices* must be seen against *American sex norms*, and unless the latter have been liberalizing as rapidly as the former there will have been an *increase* of strains (dysfunctions) within the personalities and the relationships involved. There is some evidence that this is true. But whether or not the gap separating prescription from practice is getting larger, at least it exists, and its existence calls for objective investigation and analysis--as background for decision and adjustment.

Within the framework of normative morality, an act is "good" if it succeeds and "bad" if it fails in terms of meaningful criteria. For the scientists, the most meaningful criterion appropriate to moral judgment is the action's nearness of fit to the values or norms which govern the behavior. There has been little research relating nonmarital sexual behavior to its measurable consequences, which may be presumed to exist. Of the existing objective studies (as well as causal speculations) on this problem some have been solely concerned with possible effects upon *the individual*, his mental health and adjustments; others with possible effects upon *the pair relationship*, whether it is made mutually reinforcing or enduring; and still others upon possible effects upon *the community or society*, whether there are interconnections between sexual controls and societal stability. It is our contention that a theory of normative morality, if it is to be built, must draw upon culturally relevant research relating to all of these effect levels. Further research is called for.

A final question has to do with whether normative morality will actually work; that is, will a rational understanding of consequences be enough to cause the person to basically alter his behavior? A suggestion that it will *not* is provided by the continuing upward trend in smoking, in the face of the Surgeon General's report--convincing, well-publicized evidence of smoking's harmful effects made scarcely a ripple in the practice. A suggestion that it *will* work, however, comes from research reported by Muuss. He found that the causal nature of human behavior can be taught in the schools, even at the very young ages, and that where this method supercedes the traditional judgmental approach, the child is "less punitive, less anxious, more tolerant, more democratic, more responsible, more secure, has fewer conflicts, and shows better school adjustment" (6, p. 155). Certainly it appears that information alone is not the whole answer. But neither is motivation by itself. Perhaps information and motivation both work best when they are allowed to be complementary and, hence, mutually reinforcing. And perhaps, also, man over time will grow in rationality, and increasingly look to evidence on consequences of alternative courses of action to guide him in his decisions.

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